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DINANDERIE

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LONDON
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DINANDERIE

A HISTORY AND DESCRIPTION OF MEDIÆVAL ART WORK IN COPPER BRASS AND BRONZE

BY

J. TAVENOR-PERRY

AUTHOR OF

"A CHRONOLOGY OF MEDIÆVAL AND RENAISSANCE ARCHITECTURE"

ETC. ETC.

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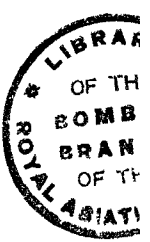

WITH ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY ILLUSTRATIONS

LONDON: GEORGE ALLEN & SONS

44 & 45 RATHBONE PLACE

1910

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Printed by BALLANTYNE, HANSON & Co.
At the Ballantyne Press, Edinburgh

PREFACE

DINANDERIE was the name used during the Middle Ages to denote the various articles required for ecclesiastical or domestic use made of copper or of its alloys, brass and bronze, with which the name of Dinant on the Meuse was so intimately associated; and as we have no word in modern English which would in the same way embrace all branches of this important art work, we have adopted it as the most convenient for our purpose.

Numerous books have appeared of late years treating of the gold- and silver-smith's craft, and of the various objects made in the precious metals; iron work, both constructional and artistic, has been even more fully dealt with, while pewter and lead work have not been forgotten; but no attempt has yet been made adequately to describe the widely extended art of the coppersmith, although our museums and the church treasuries of the Continent abound in beautiful works executed in copper, brass and bronze. Mr. Drury Fortnum in his book on *Bronzes* deals slightly with one branch of our subject; but as he includes in it both the ancient and modern periods of the art, the proportion available for the description of mediæval work is but scanty.

Although it would be impossible in a single volume to do more than give a general view of the whole subject, with an account of the more important varieties of objects made in those metals during the mediæval period, this has been done in a sufficiently detailed manner to make it an introductory hand-book to this most interesting subject.

The greater number of the illustrations in the text are from sketches made by the author; while, with the exception of some Italian doors, most of the plates are produced from photographs of objects or casts in the British or Victoria and Albert Museums expressly taken for this work.

The thanks of the author are due to the Earl of Ilchester for permission to sketch and publish the remarkable bronze stoup preserved at Holland House; to Sir George Birdwood, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.; to Mr. W. H. James Weale, the great authority on Flemish art and archæology; to Mr. W. W. Watts, the head of the metal work department of the Victoria and Albert Museum, and to many others for kind advice and suggestion; and to Mr. H. C. Andrews, assistant in the library of the same museum, for a large number of the photographs here reproduced.

CONTENTS

PART I

PAGE

INTRODUCTORY 1

PART II

HISTORICAL 51

PART III

DESCRIPTIVE 97

BIBLIOGRAPHY 219

INDEX 223

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

PLATES

PLATE			
	South Doors of the Baptistery, Florence	*Photogravure*	*Frontispiece*
1.	The Crystal of King Lothair	*Face page*	22
2.	The Chair of Dagobert	„	30
3.	Bronze Statue of S. George, Prague	„	66
4.	Font, S. Bartholomew, Liége	„	68
5.	Font, S. Martin, Hal	„	74
6.	The Gloucester Candlestick	„	90
7.	Two Bronze Mortars, in the V. and A. Museum	„	100
8.	Portable Altar, from Hildesheim	„	102
9.	Portable Altar, from the Abbey of Sayn	„	104
10.	Ciborium, in the V. and A. Museum	„	106
11.	Two Monstrances, in the V. and A. Museum	„	108
12.	The Shrine of S. Sebald	„	112
13.	Figure of Thaddeus, from the Shrine of S. Sebald	„	114
14.	Reliquary, in the V. and A. Museum	„	118
15.	Reliquary in Form of a Shrine, in the V. and A. Museum	„	120
16.	Altar Cross, in the V. and A. Museum	„	123
17.	Processional Cross, in the British Museum	„	124
18.	Processional Cross, in the V. and A. Museum	„	126
19.	Processional Cross, from Glastonbury Abbey	„	127
20.	Two Censers, in the V. and A. Museum	„	132
21.	Paschal Candlestick, Milan Cathedral	„	136
22.	Paschal Candlestick, Essen	„	138
23.	Paschal Candlestick, in the V. and A. Museum	„	140
24.	Altar Candlesticks, in the British Museum	„	144
24.	Aquamanille, in the British Museum	„	144

PLATE

25. Corona, Hildesheim . . . . . *Face page* 144
26. Chandelier, in the V. and A. Museum . . . . „ 146
27. Crosier, made by Brother Hugo of Oignies . . . „ 147
28. Crosier, in the V. and A. Museum . . . . . „ 148
29. Crosier, in the V. and A. Museum . . . . . „ 148
30. Crosier, in the V. and A. Museum . . . . . „ 150
31. Crosier, in the V. and A. Museum . . . . . „ 150
32. Lectern, S. Martin, Hal . . . . . „ 160
33. Book-cover, in the V. and A. Museum . . . . „ 164
34. Font, Hildesheim . . . . . „ 168
35. Bronze Ewer, in the V. and A. Museum . . . . „ 176
35. Cistern, from Augsburg . . . . . „ 176
36. Two Brass Ewers, in the V. and A. Museum . . . „ 178
37. Two Aquamanilles, in the V. and A. Museum . . . „ 178
38. Bronze Doors, Hildesheim . . . . . „ 182
39. Bronze Doors, Augsburg . . . . . „ 184
40. Bronze Doors, Verona . . . . . „ 188
41. Bronze Doors, Ravello . . . . . „ 190
42. Bronze Doors, Pisa . . . . . „ 192
43. Bronze Frieze to South Door of Baptistery, Florence . . „ 194
44. "Porta del Paradiso," Florence . . . . . „ 195
45. Head on Doors of Lausanne Cathedral . . . . „ 200
45. Head, in the V. and A. Museum . . . . . „ 200
46. Head, from Brazen-head Farm, Essex . . . . „ 202
46. Head, from Lake Nemi . . . . . „ 202
47. Tomb of Count Hermann at Römhild . . . . „ 209
48. Tomb of Count Otto at Römhild . . . . . „ 214

DRAWINGS IN THE TEXT

FIG. PAGE

1. Dinant a Hundred Years Ago 15
2. Bouvigne and Dinant 18
3. Bronze Doors, Temple of Romulus, Rome 25
4. Door Panel and Head, Aix-la-Chapelle 27

FIG. PAGE
5. Pine-Cone, Aix-la-Chapelle 28
6. Pine-Cone, Rome 29
7. Pail, Aaborg, Denmark 31
8. Pail, Bavenhoi 31
9. Altar Candlestick, Trier 32
10. Ornament, Oland 32
11. Ornament, Gotland 32
12. Carving in Tympanum, Houghton-le-Spring 33
13. Boss of Viking Shield, Gothenburg 33
14. Head, Vold Borre, Norway 34
15. Head, Vimose 35
16. Sanctuary Ring, Durham 36
17. Head, Le Puy 37
18. Christussäule, Hildesheim 63
19. House of Peter Bladelin, Bruges 74
20. Sanctuary Ring, S. Julian, Brioude 82
21. Lectern, S. Léonard-des-Champs, Honfleur 84
22. Effigy of the Black Prince, Canterbury 92
23. Coronet from the Effigy of the Black Prince 92
24. Belt from the Effigy of the Black Prince 92
25. Bronze Railings, Aix-la-Chapelle 100
26. Pyx, Sens Cathedral 107
27. Reliquary, V. and A. Museum 119
28. Reliquary, Sens 120
29. Processional Cross, Mainz 125
30. Figure, Processional Cross, Schatzkammer, Austria 126
31. Censer, Louvain 129
32. Censer, Italian 130
33. Censer, German 132
34. Censer in Italian Sculpture 133
35. Golden Candlestick, Arch of Titus, Rome 136
36. Candelabrum, SS. Nereo ed Achilleo, Rome 137
37. Paschal Candlestick, Magdeburg 139
38. Paschal Candlestick, Xanten 140

FIG.		PAGE
39.	Paschal Candlestick, Beresford-Hope Collection	141
40.	Paschal Candlestick, Bamberg	142
41.	Knop on Candlestick	143
42.	Knop on Candlestick, with Enamel	143
43.	Base of Candlestick	143
44.	Altar Candlestick, Brunswick	144
45.	Altar Candlestick, Düsseldorf	145
46.	Altar Candlestick, Limoges	145
47.	Chandelier, Temple Church, Bristol	146
48.	Stoup, Holland House, Kensington	152
49.	Stoup, Eltenberg	153
50.	Stoup, Toulouse	154
51.	Lectern, S. Stephen, S. Albans	159
52.	Lectern, S. Germain, Tirlemont	160
53.	Lectern, SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Venice	162
54.	Font, Linköping	171
55.	Font, Sebaldskirche, Nuremberg	172
56.	Font, Louvain	174
57.	Aquamanille, V. and A. Museum	178
58.	Head on Rail of Doors, Augsburg	186
59.	Cross on Door Panel, Atrani	187
60.	Part of Inscribed Panel on Bronze Doors, Ravello	191
61.	Sanctuary Ring, Mainz Dom	199
62.	Head, Lorenzkirche, Nuremberg	201
63.	Head on Doors, Ravello	201
64.	Head or Knocker, Augsburg	203
65.	Head on Door, Westerås, Sweden	203
66.	Bell, S. Cuthbert, Chester-le-Street, Durham	207
67.	Tomb of Mary of Burgundy, Bruges	210
68.	Tomb of Charles the Bold, Bruges	211
69.	Group, from the Maximilian Monument, Innsbruck	213
70.	Arthur of Britain, from Monument, Innsbruck	214
71.	Theodoric, King of the Ostrogoths, from Innsbruck	214

PART I

INTRODUCTORY

CHAP. PAGE

I. GENERAL VIEW 3

II. DINANT AND THE MOSAN TOWNS 10

III. THE ORIGINS 24

IV. THE MATERIALS 39

V. THE PROCESSES 44

DINANDERIE

CHAPTER I

GENERAL VIEW

It has been too commonly believed that the barbarian hordes which descended on the Roman Empire from the north and north-east of Europe and gradually broke it to pieces were the inveterate foes to all civilisation, and wilfully destroyed the cities and edifices of the settled lands. Such raids as those of Attila and his Huns through Western Europe and, later on, those of the Danish pirates in our own country, when wanton destruction was intentional, were comparatively rare ; since the Goths, the Lombards and the Franks, who overran Italy and Gaul, came with the intention of settling in those provinces, and therefore did not stupidly destroy that which they intended to utilise for their own benefit.

When Theodoric the Goth captured Rome he was especially careful of her monuments, taking all the remains of ancient art under his own protection by appointing a city architect, who was not only charged with the care of all public edifices, but was provided with a revenue for their restoration, and, with regard to any new buildings required, he was instructed to study the style of the old and in no way to deviate from ancient models. At Ravenna, which Theodoric made the capital of his kingdom of Italy, and where there were no old buildings to serve his purposes, he erected his great palace, the remains of which exist to this day, and he built for himself a tomb-house

in imitation of Hadrian's mausoleum which is as massive and may be as enduring. Whatever may have been their habits in their original home, the Lombards who, after the Goths, spread over Italy, became themselves great builders, and under Byzantine influence founded an architectural school remarkable for its vigour and the richness of its ornamentation. At the very time that King Pepin was engaged in breaking up the Lombard power in Italy, a Lombard prince, Arrige Duke of Salerno, was engaged in building for himself a stately palace in that city adorned with all the architectural graces of the period, and at the same time surrounding the port with walls to protect it from the attacks of the Frankish king.

The early Franks in Gaul retained for a long time the semi-nomadic life of their ancestors, and the kings of the Merovingian dynasty resided on their great farms at a distance from the cities; but though they required no palaces, they were great builders of churches, and both Queen Brunehault and King Dagobert are celebrated for their patronage of the arts. Beside this the Merovingians were too much engaged in their domestic quarrels, since the death of each king led to a fresh division of their states, to require or even to care for any public official buildings; and it was only when the Carlovingian dynasty, which succeeded them, became firmly established, that a revival in architecture and the attendant arts became possible. But, while in Italy architecture had lived and progressed through all the changes of governments, in these northern provinces, when the time and opportunity for a revival occurred, a new style with new methods had to be imported from a foreign country.

This revival, which was inaugurated by Charlemagne, took place at a fortunate juncture, for at that moment his friend Pope Adrian I. was busily engaged in Rome in restoring many of the ancient buildings and churches, and was importing from Greece and elsewhere artists skilled in metal and mosaic work

for their decoration. In these labours Charlemagne also associated himself, as we find that for the repairs of S. Peter's basilica he presented the Pope with great timber beams and some thousands of pounds weight of lead for repairing the roof, besides assisting him in lining the interior of the shrine with plates of beaten gold which depicted scenes from sacred history; and his share in this transaction was immortalised in an inscription on the shrine itself, which said that "Charles, of all kings the greatest, shall receive from Peter's hands the City's banner."

With such an experience as he must have acquired during his frequent visits to Italy, and his observation among the remains of ancient art, it is little wonder that, when he decided to found his northern capital at Aix-la-Chapelle, he determined to make it as far as possible similar to what he had seen in Rome; and although the church he built is far removed from the basilican type of S. Peter's, being without doubt a copy of San Vitale at Ravenna, he decorated it with marbles, mosaic and bronze work like the Roman churches, and thus founded the Art-school of the North which, submerged for a while beneath the flood of the Norman raids, re-emerged to establish itself on the banks of the Rhine and the Meuse.

But while Charlemagne was able, and indeed compelled, to import his architecture as well as his marbles and mosaics, the metal work with which he so lavishly adorned his church was not to be obtained in that manner, nor, as we shall presently see, was this necessary; and although the suggestions for the bronze doors, the pine-cone fountain, and the wolf came from Rome, Rome itself had been despoiled of all its spare bronze by its own emperors. Indeed, Adrian I., when he was restoring S. Peter's, was compelled to rob a temple at Perugia of the doors of bronze which he provided for the bell-tower of Stephen II.

The age of bronze in Northern Europe can scarcely be said

to have passed away in the time of Charlemagne, for the manufacture of articles of bronze was still an active industry in Scandinavia and along the Baltic coasts of Germany. In most parts of Europe the use of iron had early superseded that of bronze ; but in the extreme north, although the later and baser metal had been introduced and was employed for many important purposes, the nobler material was still undoubtedly used for most objects requiring ornamentation. The result was that these northern artificers possessed a facility in the working of bronze unknown in the south ; and though they used iron for their sword-blades and for many other purposes where its special value was evident, they made their sword-handles and sheaths and most of their domestic implements and ornaments of bronze. It may have retained in their eyes some of those superior and sacred associations which seem to have clung to it in other and older countries. Thus in the Book of Deuteronomy we find that when the people were ordered to build an altar of stones to the Lord, this special injunction was laid upon them, "Thou shalt not lift up any iron upon them" ; and in Rome in ancient times the priest of Jupiter was only suffered to shave himself with a bronze knife ; while, when the site of a new town was to be set out, it might only be ploughed round with a ploughshare of bronze.

The bronzes of Scandinavia, which were contemporary with Charlemagne, belonging as they did to an epoch long subsequent to the introduction of iron, were of a most varied and beautiful character ; yet their manufacture and use at this late period is proved by the very numerous bog-finds, the results of which are to be seen in the museums of Copenhagen, Stockholm and Gothenburg, where they have been found associated with Greek and Roman coins, many of which have been used in their fabrication and in the bracteates. The buckles, clasps, fibulæ and ornaments, and the jewellery of both men and

South Door of the Baptistery
Florence.
By Andrea Pisano.

women are of exquisite and varied design, frequently gilt or damascened, enriched with additions of gold and silver, or inlaid with amber or enamels. The weapons and armour of bronze were also often richly ornamented; the breastplates, the helmets, and the shield bosses being sometimes decorated in high relief with the figures of men and animals.

But it is not only the high artistic merit of these various objects which is so remarkable, as the enormous quantity of manufactured bronze they must have represented in use at one and the same time. During his thirty years' war with the Saxons of Westphalia and Northern Germany, the quantity of bronze-mounted weapons which must have fallen into the hands of Charlemagne was quite enough to enable him to lavish the material on his new church at Aix-la-Chapelle without seeking to draw any supplies from Rome or elsewhere, and may indeed have suggested to him the disposal of it in such a manner. The reasonable presumption of Mr. Drury Fortnum, in his work on *Bronzes*, that the conquered and converted Saxons might have offered their discarded weapons and ornaments as *ex votos* to the churches, might very well account for the enormous number of ecclesiastical objects of an early date made in this metal still remaining. And thus it was, when new abbeys and churches were founded and the necessity for furnishing them occurred, there was plenty of bronze available for the purpose, as well as skilled workmen accustomed to its manipulation.

At the end of the tenth century all Christendom was oppressed by the fear of an overwhelming catastrophe; for the belief was almost universal that the year 1000 would usher in the long-foretold millennium and the end of the world. But when that dreaded year had passed and nothing unusual had occurred, hope revived and new churches began to be built, or the old ones to be restored, architecture and her attendant

arts became again active, and the brilliant period of mediæval art then commenced.

In the Netherlands, which had already been influenced by the revival of Charlemagne's time, first the Walloon and later the Flemish towns began to develop a capacity for organised trade which has made their names famous for ever. Although the finer arts of the goldsmith and enameller were mainly practised within the walls of convents, so that the authorship and provenance of much work has been lost, in the Low Countries these, with all other crafts, passed into the hands of trade guilds, and often became associated with particular towns and localities; and thus it was that eventually many of the productions themselves became known by the name of the place in which they were principally manufactured. From Arras first came those wall-hangings which we still know as "arras," and the Italians as *arazzi;* the finer sorts of napery which were ornamented with a regular pattern in the weaving obtained the name of diaper from Ypres, the place where they were first made; while the finely-spun linen we call cambric came from Cambrai. The name of Gand or Ghent has been perpetuated in the French *gants* and the English gauntlet; and in the same way, though we shall presently see that Dinant was neither the first nor the last town to be engaged in the manufacture of brass and copper ware, those products were known throughout Europe and the Levant as Dinanderie.

This word was used for all copper work as well as brass or bronze, whether beaten or repoussé, which was mainly employed for domestic purposes, such as was, in an inventory of 1389, described as a "*baterie de cuyvre*" much as we nowadays say a "*batterie de cuisine*"; as well as for work prepared by casting and engraving, and sometimes by enamelling, which was more usually devoted to objects required for ecclesiastical use. And although in France, as well as in other countries, a large

quantity of such objects were produced, we find that even there the words *dynon* and *dynant* were used as synonymous with *potier d'airain*, or a brass potter. Thus it was that Dinant and the other Mosan towns, having been the first to avail themselves of the revival in art due to the influence of Charlemagne, were not only the first to profit by it, but received the credit for much of the art work which was carried on elsewhere in later times, when they and their factories had fallen into desuetude.

CHAPTER II

DINANT AND THE MOSAN TOWNS

THE river Meuse, which has a total length of some 550 miles and runs for a hundred miles of its picturesque course through eastern Belgium, rises in the high ground of the plateau of Langres, near Montigny-le-Roi, in the department of Haute-Marne, and eventually empties itself into the North Sea by Dordrecht in Holland. Although its course through Belgian territory is comparatively short, the Meuse must be reckoned as the most considerable river of that country, not only for its singular beauty and the importance of the towns on its banks, but for its many historical associations. At a time when the Dender, the Scheldt, and the Lys oozed and trickled through the half-reclaimed marshes and sandy heaths of Flanders, the valley of the Meuse was the busy haunt of workers and merchants ; and the rocky heights on the river's banks were already crowned with the castles and fortresses of the Austrasian nobles. From its source the river runs in a direction slightly west of north, and, passing through the French towns of Verdun and Mezières, enters Belgium just below Givet, whence it formed, in mediæval times, the imperfect division between the territories of the Count of Namur and the Bishop of Liége. This Belgian portion of the river is exceedingly beautiful, the banks rising in lofty and broken walls of limestone full of curious caverns at the feet of which the numerous towns and villages lie squeezed in between river and rock, while the summits are often clothed in luxuriant foliage surrounding the ruins of some ancient castle.

The valley contains but few traces of the Roman occupation, as any buildings which may have been erected during that period were entirely destroyed in the early and many inroads of the northern barbarians; but of the Roman roads, which were not so easily obliterated, numerous vestiges survive. One main military road, that from Boulogne to Cologne, crossed the Meuse at Maestricht—the *Trajectus Mosae* of the Romans; and although the bridges of Huy and Namur are locally believed to be of Roman foundation, the one at Maestricht, which was formed of stone piers with the roadway laid on level wooden beams, is the only one that can rightly claim that antiquity. The restoration and consequent preservation of these ancient roads was due to the capable but notorious Merovingian Queen Brunehault, "the daughter, the sister, the mother, and the grandmother of kings," who reigned or governed in Austrasia for forty-eight years; and these roads, generally known in Belgium as "Brunehault pavements," are, as well as any other buildings exceptionally strong, great or ancient, usually attributed to her. It was perhaps due to her influence that the Austrasian nobility began to settle along the valley of the Meuse, which resulted in it eventually becoming the cradle of the Carlovingian race of kings and a centre for the revival of the arts which took place later on under Charlemagne. Pepin, the founder of the family, who was the first Mayor of the Palace to Dagobert I., and afterwards Duke of Austrasia, had a castle at Landen, some few miles from Liége, where he frequently resided; and for this reason he is known as Pepin of Landen, to distinguish him from his more famous grandson, the son of his daughter Begga and Ansigise the son of S. Arnolphus, Pepin of Heristal.

Heristal, or Herstal, is now but a mean manufacturing suburb of Liége, which great commercial city owed, however, its origin to its contiguity to that ancient castle. But its

early importance was chiefly due to the murder therein of Lambert, Bishop of Maestricht, who afterwards became the patron saint of the city, by the partisans of Pepin's concubine Alpaida and her famous son Charles Martel. Pepin had another palace on the Meuse at Jopille, nearly opposite to Herstal, where he died; and during the troubles which ensued after his death we hear but little more of this district until his grandson, Pepin the Short, deposed the last *roi fainéant* of the Merovingian race, and became the first king of the Carlovingian dynasty.

With the advent of Pepin's famous son Charlemagne begins the art history of the valley of the Meuse; and to his care and influence are due the foundation of some and the eventual importance of all the cities and towns along its banks, which importance some of them maintain to the present day. He himself frequently visited, and sometimes stayed for lengthened periods, at the family castle of Heristal; and when not engaged in any of his warlike expeditions or in his frequent visits to Rome, he usually resided in the country of Juliers, between the Meuse and the Rhine, while in the immediate neighbourhood, on the ruins of the Roman town of *Aquisgranum*, he founded his northern capital of Aix-la-Chapelle, and therein built the great minster which was to form his tomb-house.

Aquisgranum, urbs regalis,
Sedes Regni principalis.

The story of the jewel known as the Crystal of King Lothair, now after many adventures safely housed in the British Museum, of which we give an illustration (Plate I.), throws not a little light on the condition and state of culture of the inhabitants of the valley and its neighbourhood in the century following the death of Charlemagne. This jewel consists of a circular plaque of rock crystal about four and a

half inches in diameter, exquisitely engraved with subjects from the history of Susanna and the Elders, containing some forty figures in all, and bearing an inscription round the central group which reads LOTHARIVS REX FRANC ——IERI IVSSIT, the missing portion, which may be supplied by ORVM F, having been destroyed by a fracture in the crystal. The art of gem-cutting had been revived under Charlemagne, and several of the Carlovingian kings had their signets engraved in intaglio, and one which belonged to Lothair II. has been preserved by being set in a cross now belonging to the treasury of Aix-la-Chapelle. The crystal of the British Museum was probably engraved for Lothair I., the grandson of Charlemagne, who lived a great deal in the neighbourhood during the later years of his father, Louis the Meek ; but early in the next century it was in the possession of Heresindes, the wife of Eilbert, Count of Florennes, whose castle stood between the Sambre and the Meuse, near Dinant. The Count had pledged the jewel to a canon of Reims, of whom he was buying a horse, and being unable to obtain its return when he offered the agreed price for its redemption, recovered it by force from the fraudulent priest, but unfortunately burned his cathedral over his head during the process. Repenting him later in life of this sacrilege, he presented the jewel to the Abbey of Waulsort, which stood four miles above Dinant, on the same bank of the river. Here it remained undisturbed, noted now and again in various inventories, until the French sacked the abbey in 1789, when, either by the spoilers or the spoiled, it was dropped into the river, to be eventually recovered and added to our national collection.

The Mosan towns early acquired a considerable measure of freedom and independence, and showed the same quarrelsome disposition so noticeable among the free cities of mediæval times, particularly in the north of Europe, as to which Hallam

remarks in his *View of the State of Europe*, that "liberty never wore a more unamiable countenance than among these burghers, who abused the strength she gave them by cruelty and insolence." The smaller the town—and none of those along the valley of the Meuse, except Liége, grew to any great size—the more irritating it became; and while singly no town was strong enough to do serious harm to another, they were able to do petty injuries which still further inflamed their passions and crippled their trade, until at last the intervention of their over-lords brought about their punishment and ruin.

The politics of these towns were of an extremely parochial and short-sighted character, and were entirely swayed by the dictates of their trade unions, unlike the greater free cities, such as Cologne, Bruges and London, which were governed by their merchants and traders, who shaped their policy according to the requirements of their customers in foreign countries; whilst these Walloon towns on the Meuse, occupied by a hot-tempered Celtic population, were ruled by artisans, members of some predominant guild, who in their narrow ignorance sacrificed their own interests for the sake of crippling the trade of rival towns. One result was that whenever their over-lords were quarrelling among themselves, although the causes of the controversy in no way concerned the towns individually, they gladly seized the opportunity it gave them of damaging a rival, and in the end their over-lords ruined them.

Although Dinant was neither the oldest nor the most important of the Mosan towns, for Maestricht and Liége as cathedral cities were of much more consequence, and its near neighbour Huy was of much older foundation, Dinant seems early to have taken the lead among them; and this may be attributed not merely to the exceptional skill and

industry of its inhabitants, which were undoubted, but to the fact that they were far-sighted enough to ally themselves to the great guild of the Hansa League and thus put themselves in direct communication with the merchants of Cologne and Bruges.

The town of Dinant stands in one of the most picturesque portions of the upper Meuse, on its right bank,

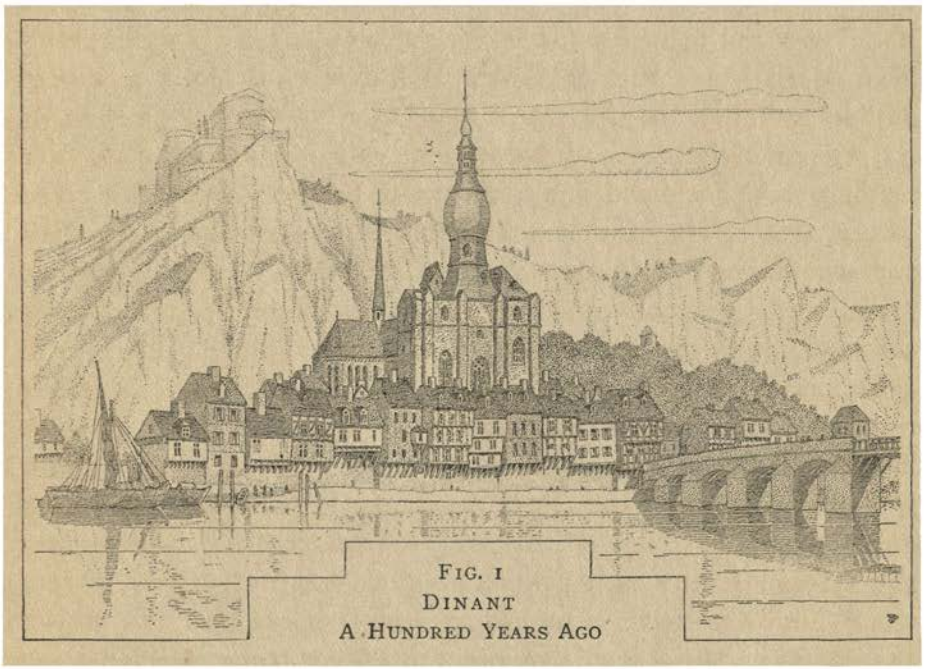

FIG. 1
DINANT
A HUNDRED YEARS AGO

just below the point where it receives the little river Lesse, and sixteen miles above its junction with the Sambre. It is dominated by a lofty limestone cliff, now crowned by a modern but dismantled fortress, and is squeezed into the contracted space of ground which lies between its base and the river (Fig. 1). In the centre stands the Church of Notre Dame, which contains the only ancient work which has survived the devastations of war, fire and flood which the town

has so often undergone. It consists of a nave, with aisles, transepts and choir, and has at the west end a fine square tower surmounted with a fantastic spire, which soars aloft as if vainly trying to rival the height of the adjacent crags. The town itself has been rebuilt many times, and has been of recent years very much modernised; while the picturesque old bridge was removed during the last century, and a more convenient but most incongruous structure of iron and stone was built in its place. The people of the town bore in modern times the character of much foolishness like that which attaches to the wise men of Gotham; and the inscription which they had placed on their old bridge recording its date was considered evidence of this: "*Ce pont fut fait ici.*"

Of the origin of the town it is impossible to speak with any certainty, but from references made to it in the cosmography of the anonymous writer of Ravenna in the seventh century under the name of Dinantis, we find that it was in existence at that date; it is also spoken of in charters of the time of Charlemagne, and occurs as Deonant in the treaty between Charles the Bald and Louis of Germany in 870. By the middle of the eleventh century it appears to have attained to the relative importance it afterwards held among the Mosan towns as a centre for the manufacture of copper ware; and among the importations received at Cologne during the year 1104 is specially mentioned *batterie de cuivre* from Dinant. In the middle of the thirteenth century the superior quality of the productions of the place had become proverbial; and they spoke of the copper ware of Dinant, of the swords of Cologne, and of the crucifixes of Limoges as of equal excellence of manufacture.

The importance to the Dinantois of their alliance with the Hansa League was very great, for it not only made them supreme among the Mosan towns, but gave them exceptional

advantages in their trade with Germany and England. It not only enabled them to procure without difficulty from the former the copper produced in the Harz mountains, and from the latter the tin almost as necessary for their finer work, but it established a market in both of these countries for the sale of their manufactured articles. It enabled them also to obtain the most favourable treatment in the matter of tolls and dues; and the special rates for their work are mentioned in the tariff of Damme, the port of Bruges, which was legalised by a charter granted in 1252. Another result of these arrangements was that Dinant became a recognised emporium for the sale of the raw materials which were required by other towns engaged in a similar business, not only the tin and copper imported from abroad, but the calamine which was found in large quantities on the right bank of the river. Thus we find that when Philip le Hardi, Duke of Burgundy, was building his Abbey Church of Champnol, near Dijon, one Nicholas Joseph, a native of Dinant who was engaged on the bronze sculpture, paid several visits to the town to purchase materials for his work, among which are mentioned 3500 livres and 1400 livres of calamine, and 2100 livres of copper.

How all these advantages, which the diligence and forethought of their ancestors had procured for the Dinantois, were dissipated in their petty quarrels with their neighbours has yet to be told. In the middle of the thirteenth century the townspeople, instead of attending to their legitimate business, were wasting their energies in broils with Huy and Liége, and when their over-lord, the Bishop, intervened in the interests of peace, they patched up their quarrel with the two towns only to join them in attacking the Bishop; but, as might have been expected, he showed himself to be too powerful to be so treated, and they were eventually glad, after many losses, to purchase an ignominious peace, and take out a new and less favourable

charter of freedom. It was during this period of unrest, when perhaps the accumulating orders of the merchants and traders in copper ware were lying neglected, that a rival factory was started on the other side of the river, under the very noses of the Dinantois, at Bouvigne; and the immediate result of this rivalry was not only to steal away some of the business, but to "corner" a commodity on which the manufacture of Dinant depended almost as much as on the metal (Fig. 2). It is to be

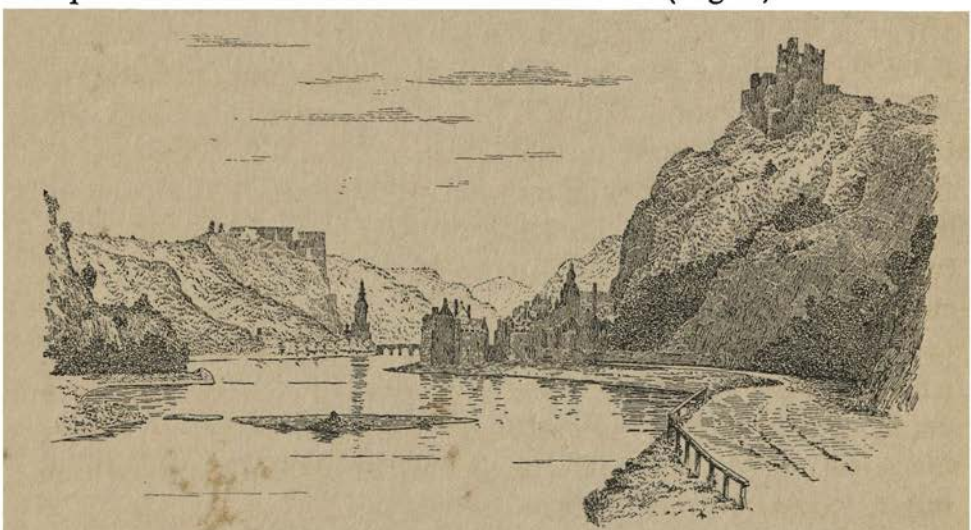

FIG. 2.—BOUVIGNE AND DINANT

remembered that Dinant was within the province of the Bishop of Liége, while the opposite bank of the river belonged to the county of Namur, whose Count was glad to welcome within his borders a colony of craftsmen who could carry on so lucrative a business as that of the coppersmiths. Most of the materials required in their work were as easily procurable on his side of the Meuse as on the other, while he had within his county a stratum of plastic clay which was used by the Dinantois for making both their models and their crucibles; and this clay, which was locally known as *derle*, was not to be found on the

other side of the river. Thus it was that the Dinantois found themselves not only confronted with a rival factory which could turn out the same goods as theirs, but suddenly cut off from one of the essentials to the process of their manufacture. Hence the rage which inspired them against Bouvigne was not merely the outcome of trade jealousy, as it has generally been represented to be.

About this same time occurred the stupid but destructive "War of the Cow," which broke out in 1273 between Namur and Liége, and quickly involved all the neighbouring states, in which the Dinantois naturally sided with their over-lord the Bishop, since this course enabled them to attack Bouvigne; and although after two years of fighting the war was put an end to by the intervention of the King of France, the squabbles between the two towns continued. These troubles were further embittered by the action of the Count of Namur in closing his *derlières* or clay-pits at Andoy, Mozet and Maizeroul, from which the Dinantois had hitherto obtained their clay; and later on, in 1328, granting the exclusive rights to draw the clay from his *derlière* of Andoy, and a monopoly of all other pits which might afterwards be opened, to the *mestier de la baterie de Bouvigne.* Although both the Bishop and the Count endeavoured to prevent the quarrels between their turbulent towns, lest the outbreaks should embroil their respective states, the war between them continued as active as ever; and the two towns about this time erected offensive castles to annoy each other. The Dinantois built a great tower opposite to Bouvigne, which they named Mont Orgueil, and Bouvigne retaliated by building on the hill opposite a castle which became known later as Crèvecourt. An incident occurring about this time seems to indicate that Bouvigne had become a refuge for renegade Dinantois, or that it had induced some skilled workmen of Dinant, by the offer of better pay, to settle in their town. A

party of Dinantois had sallied forth over the bridge to damage or burn the part of Bouvigne lying outside its walls, but it was captured, and its leader, one Pièrre Doivre, hanged by its captor Guillaume Doivre, who was supposed to be the son of the victim. The case was apparently considered a flagrant one, for the Bishop interfered, and Guillaume and his companions were compelled to do penance in the Church of Notre Dame at Dinant, and afterwards to make a pilgrimage to Cyprus—the island of copper.

Pope Urban VI. in vain endeavoured to arrange a permanent peace between the rival towns; and Bouvigne still further aggravated the Dinantois by erecting, in 1383, an advanced castellated work on the banks of the river opposite Mont Orgueil. Dinant was, however, about the same time engaged in other and domestic troubles, as at the beginning of the fifteenth century it was, with the other towns of the province, in revolt against the Bishop of Liége; but Jean sans Peur, the Duke of Burgundy, came to his assistance, and in 1408 defeated the insurgent towns with disastrous results for Dinant, as it was heavily fined, its castle and all its defences were destroyed, and fifty of its leading inhabitants were taken as hostages for peace and interned at Arras for three and a half years.

In 1421 Jean III., the then Count of Namur, transferred all his rights in the county to the Duke of Burgundy, so that, when trouble again broke out between the two towns, the Dinantois had to deal with the powerful Philip le Bon, who was notoriously ruthless in the treatment of his own cities when they troubled him, and was not likely to show much consideration to so troublesome a neighbour as Dinant. Not alarmed, however, by this, or showing a bold front, the Dinantois in 1430 made a powerful alliance with Liége, Huy, S. Trond and Tongres, and, having hired some German troops, they attacked Bouvigne in force and ravaged the opposite banks

of the river, but seem to have failed in their attempt on the castle of Crèvecourt. The siege of Bouvigne was also unsuccessful; and a truce for two years was arranged, converted the next year into a permanent peace, which provided for the destruction of the castle on Mont Orgueil, which the Dinantois, contrary to their treaty with their Bishop, had rebuilt.

In spite of so many warnings and defeats, the Dinantois again began their attacks on Bouvigne, and Philip, finding that the Bishop of Liége was unable to control his town, took the matter into his own hands, and determined, once and for all, to put an end to their intolerable insubordination. He sent an army of thirty thousand men under the Count of Charleroy to make a regular siege of the place; but the truculent inhabitants, far from being frightened, hanged the messengers whom he sent to summon them to surrender; and it was captured after a six days' siege, given over to fire and pillage for three days, and what was left after that, save only the ruins of the church, was pulled down. Of the inhabitants, eight hundred were tied in couples and drowned in the river—the *noyades* of the Meuse—and the remainder were scattered far and wide over the neighbouring cities.

Many of the Dinantois who were skilled workmen, drifted into Flanders and founded the factories of Brussels, Tournay and Middelburg, which carried on to even greater excellence the art of Dinanderie; but perhaps the greater number settled in the town of Huy, a little lower down the river, and connected themselves with its old-established factories among a people to whom they were allied by kinship and a common head. As for Dinant itself, a partial rebuilding took place three years after the siege; but it never recovered its importance, and it now stands a picturesque memorial of one of the crimes committed in the name of liberty.

Huy, to which so many of the dispossessed Dinantois retired,

is situated on the same bank of the Meuse, but some eighteen miles below the junction of the Sambre with that river. In antiquity as well as in early importance it ranked higher than Dinant, and the first examples of Dinanderie seem to have emanated from its factories. It was in existence and burned by Attila in the fifth century, and was rebuilt by Charlemagne in 779, who made it the capital of a county ; he conferred it on one Bazin, the nephew of Alpais, the mother of Charles Martel, who built there the first castle. The earliest church was raised on the site of an ancient chapel founded in the fourth century, and was consecrated in 1066, but that was superseded by the present magnificent structure erected mainly between the years 1311 and 1377. The town claims to have received a charter of freedom in the year when the first church was consecrated, and to have been, at that early date, filled with rich and noble families ; and it is also a boast of the townsfolk that the daughter of a Huy furrier was the mother of our William the Conqueror. It may be mentioned that at Huy the decoration of the ware by champlevé enamel was practised at an early date, as is shown by the triptych from Alton Towers, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, made in the middle of the twelfth century by Godfrey de Claire of Huy.

Verdun, situated on the Meuse at the point where it first becomes navigable, is another town in which the manufacture of Dinanderie was carried on at an early period, and its antiquity may be even greater than that of Huy. It was already a place of importance in the time of Charlemagne ; and when, after his death, his empire was divided between his three grandsons, Louis, Charles and Lothair, it was here, in 843, the partition took place by the Act known as the " Treaty of Verdun." Like Huy, it early developed the art of enamelling on bronze ; and it was by one of its workers, Nicholas of Verdun, that the beautiful antependium to the altar of the

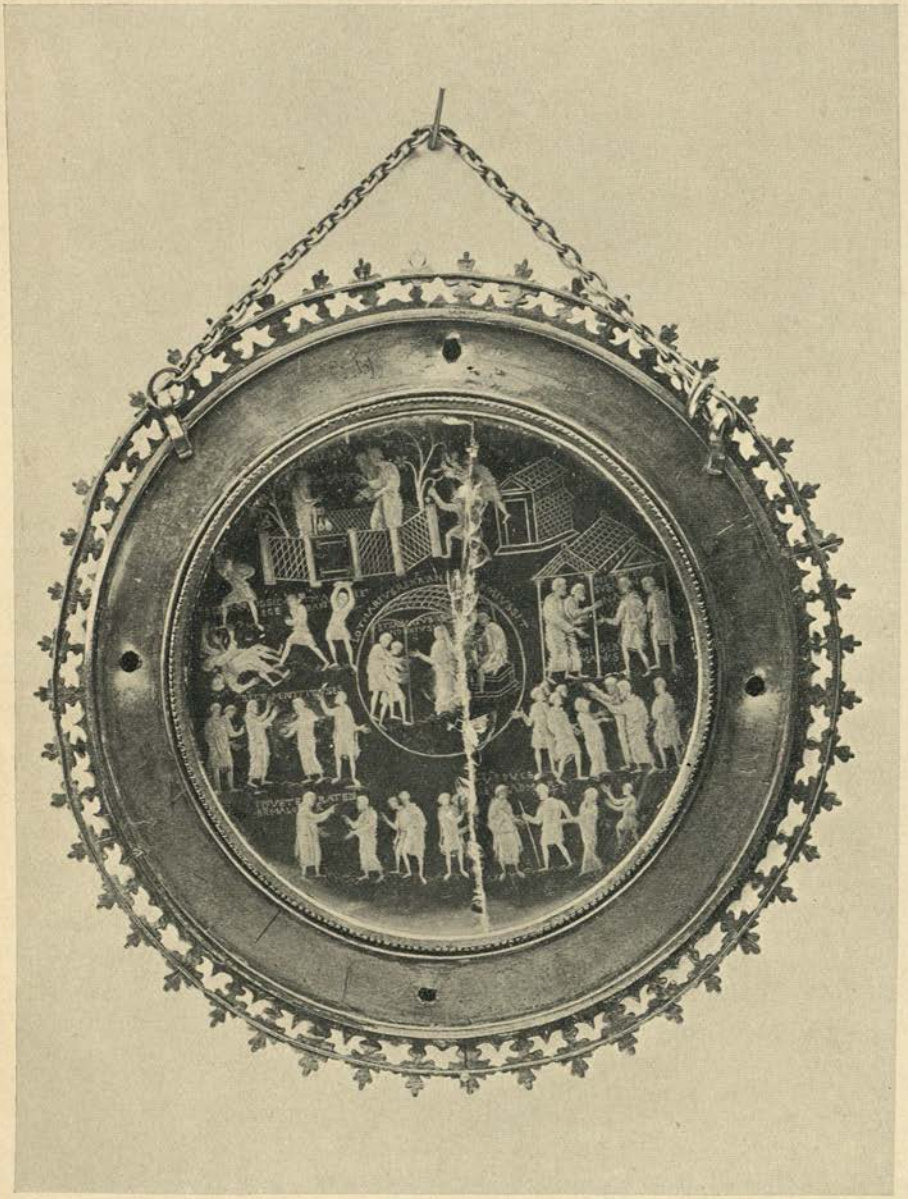

PLATE I

THE CRYSTAL OF KING LOTHAIR

Church of Kloster Neuberg by Vienna was made between the years 1168 and 1186. Verdun was always a place of importance, and was one of the celebrated "Three Bishoprics"; and it is considered by many to have been the place whence the art of champlevé enamelling spread to Paris and thence over France.

As might have been expected, a large number of the wandering Dinantois took refuge in their own chief city, Liége, but they do not appear to have established there any factories; but at Namur, on the opposite bank of the river, some manufacture of Dinanderie seems to have been carried on. It appears, however, most probable that this was established by colonists from Bouvigne, as it seems scarcely likely that the Dinantois would, except under compulsion, have sought an asylum in a hostile city. But whatever trade may have survived among the Mosan towns after the fall of Dinant soon languished and died out; and now the valley has become again a sequestered spot, the haunt of the traveller in search of the picturesque. No longer do the rocks re-echo the tinkling of the anvils or the hissing of the metal in the moulds, for the "age of bronze" has long since passed away; but in the engineering shops of Seraing and the ordnance works of Liége, the clatter of the machinery and the roar of the furnaces under their heavy pall of smoke witness that on the Lower Meuse the "age of iron" still rules.

CHAPTER III

THE ORIGINS

We have already indicated the possible source from whence Charlemagne drew the great supply of metal he required for the bronze work at Aix-la-Chapelle, but it is not quite so easy a task to explain how he obtained the designs for his work, or whence he procured sufficiently skilled workmen to carry these designs into effect. It is obvious that the general idea in his mind was to imitate objects he had himself seen in Rome, for three at least of the bronze castings which remain to this day may be identified as intended copies of existing Roman originals, although when we come to examine them we shall see that they differ vastly from their classic prototypes. These objects were the two-leaved doors, the fountain in the form of a pine-cone, and the wolf.

Of these the most important, as well as the most ambitious, work was the pair of doors which he placed at the original entrance to the church, as nothing like them had been attempted in Western Europe since the Emperor Hadrian had set up those under the portico of the Pantheon when he restored the building, about 124, after the fire which pretty well destroyed it in 110. Although bronze doors were made by the Emperor Justinian for his great Church of Sta. Sophia in Constantinople, one at least of which is still remaining at the south end of the narthex, nothing of the sort was again attempted in the eastern capital until Staurachios executed the famous series of bronze doors in the twelfth century for the Pantaleone family of Amalfi. Charlemagne therefore essayed

to execute a novel and difficult task, and it is interesting to

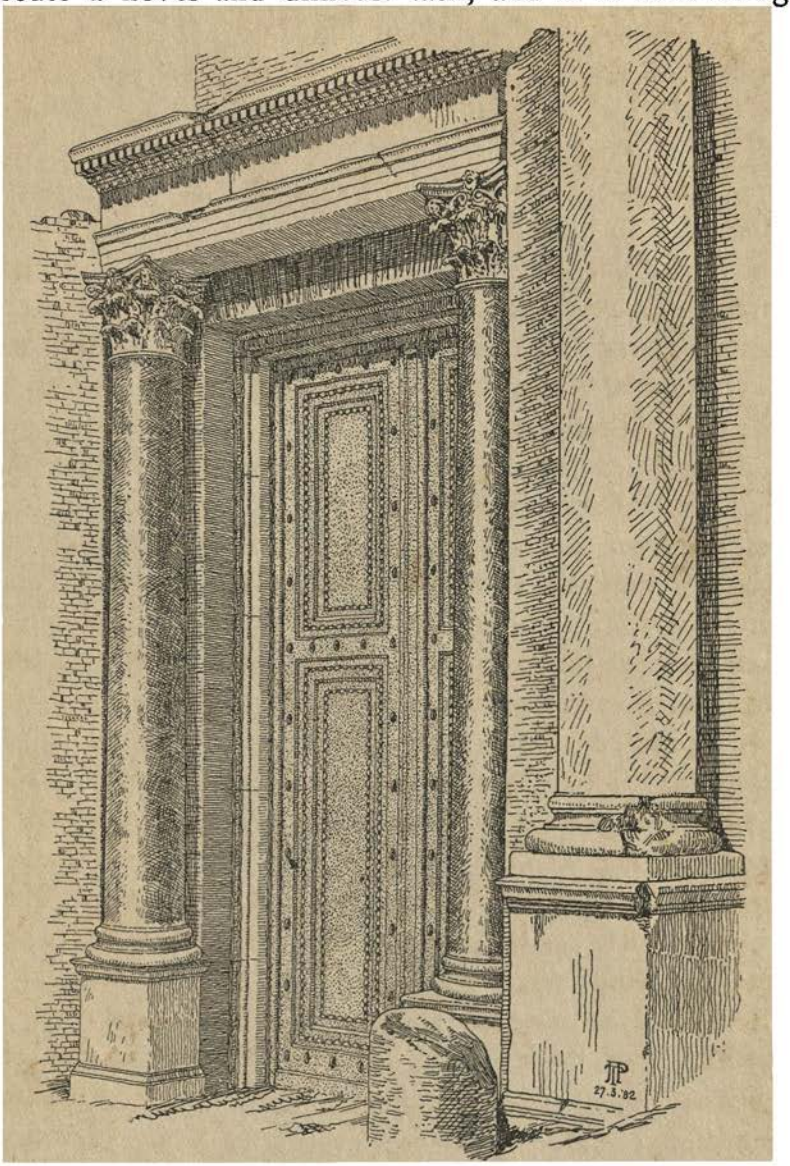

FIG. 3.—BRONZE DOORS, TEMPLE OF ROMULUS, ROME

inquire whence he derived the idea for the work. He may

have seen the bronze doors which Pope Adrian brought from Perugia, and have made them his model; but as they have perished, we are unable to institute a comparison. The only other bronze doors standing in Rome during the time of Charlemagne's visits to the city are standing to this day as he saw them, and are those of the Pantheon and the little Temple of Romulus in the Forum; and although there is but little similarity between the doors of Aix-la-Chapelle and either of them, in the extent of their enrichment, they are most like the doors of the Temple. From the drawing which we give of the latter of these Roman examples in their present state (Fig. 3), it will be seen that each leaf is in two large panels with a double enriched moulding running round each of them, while each leaf of the doors of Aix-la-Chapelle is cut up into a number of small panels and is much more ornamented.

But a remarkable addition was made to these German doors, of which no hint was given by the classic examples, for the origin of which it is as difficult to account as it is to explain how it was that it became an important feature on all great church doors, at least in Germany, France and England, at a later period. This was the knocker in the form of an animal's head, holding a ring in its mouth, which subsequently developed into the so-called "Sanctuary" ring. Each leaf of the Aix-la-Chapelle doors bears one of these in the form of a lion's head, surrounded by a beautifully modelled floriated border, but the ring which hangs from the mouth has no boss to it, and was clearly never intended to serve as a knocker (Fig. 4). The two classic examples of doors which we have mentioned show no trace of having borne such an ornament, nor have we any record that such masks were ever affixed to the doors of temples; and the only hint we have of the ancient use of such a feature is given by the late Professor Donaldson in his work, *Examples of Ancient Doorways*, in which he gives

a drawing of a bas-relief of the front of a tomb where

FIG. 4.—DOOR PANEL AND HEAD, AIX-LA-CHAPELLE

the two doors are furnished with similar heads and rings.

Not only would it be interesting to discover the reason for this remarkable innovation, but also to trace the models which, no doubt, Charlemagne intended to have imitated. The lion's head was a favourite subject with Roman sculptors and architects, and frequently appears on cornices and enriched mouldings, and sometimes formed the mask of the waterspouts round the atria of Roman houses. A few years since some most beautiful examples of heads of lions and other beasts cast in bronze and holding rings in their mouths were recovered from the bottom of Lake Nemi in the Alban Hills, which are supposed once to have formed mooring-rings to the piles of a wooden landing-stage; but these must have disappeared below the waters of the lake long before the time of Charlemagne's visits, and could never have served for his models.

The imperfect reproduction of the celebrated pine-cone which now, displaced as it is from its original position, looks very meaningless (Fig. 5), was an attempt on the part of Charlemagne to reproduce an important ceremonial feature which he had observed at S. Peter's, of which the bronze pine-cone formed a principal part. He had arranged in front of his church at Aix-la-Chapelle an atrium similar to those he saw before the great churches in Rome, and, following their example, he had placed in the centre of it a water-bason with a fountain. The one he saw at S. Peter's had been erected by Pope Symmachus (498–514), and consisted of a square tabernacle with a dome of gilt bronze supported on porphyry columns, and surrounded by a marble bason, which was

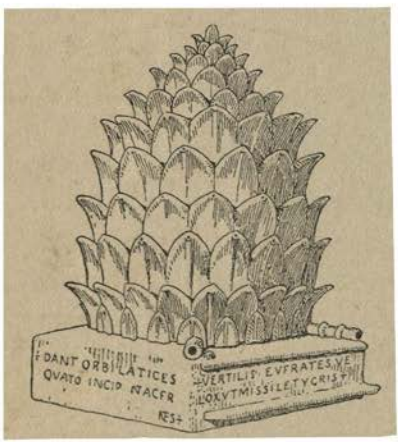

FIG. 5.—PINE-CONE AIX-LA-CHAPELLE

filled by water spouting from the dome above. Beneath the canopy was placed the great bronze pine-cone, now standing in the Giardino della Pigna of the Vatican. This pine-cone, of which we give an illustration (Fig. 6), was generally supposed to have once crowned the mausoleum of Hadrian, but more probably was one of the ornaments of the artificial lake which Agrippa made in the Campus Martius near the Pantheon; and it still bears engraved around the lower rim the name of its sculptor, Publius Cincius Calvius.

FIG. 6.—PINE-CONE, ROME

There can be but little doubt that the bronze wolf, if wolf it be, and not a bear, as suggested by Dr. Bock in his *Das Heilighthum zu Aachen*, was intended to be a reproduction at least of the idea of the celebrated wolf of the Capitol, although its attitude is quite different. In the time of Charlemagne this curious figure, which had not then, perhaps, received the addition of the twin boys, was preserved in the Lateran Palace; and as it was even at that time regarded as the symbol of Rome, we can quite understand how it was the newly crowned Emperor of the West desired to erect this mark of his power in his northern capital.

The classic influence which Charlemagne's bronze work at Aix-la-Chapelle exercised on the metal designers of Germany was perceptible two centuries later in the revival under Bishop Bernward at Hildesheim; but before tracing this further, we must first consider the influence of the native school of bronze workers in Northern Europe, which was far from being

extinguished, and presently made itself more powerfully felt than the exotic ideas introduced from Rome.

The Celtic inhabitants of Gaul were well acquainted with the art of making bronze ornaments before the Roman occupation, and such work continued to be carried on after the Frankish Conquest, and showed but little alteration in its main characteristics. But the workers had learned from Rome the idea of manufacturing more important articles; and we have in the so-called Chair of Dagobert (Plate II.) evidence that at that date some classic influence was still apparent. It has been assumed by some, however, that the chief part of this object, which is in the form of a curule chair, was actually Roman work; while others attribute it to S. Eloy, Dagobert's Master of the Mint, the work having been completed in the twelfth century by Abbot Suger. The bronze work, however, on which the Merovingian artists were chiefly engaged were the enriched portions of weapons and buckles, fibulæ and other ornaments for dress, and these they frequently further adorned with a rude sort of champlevé enamel. In England a very similar sort of bronze work prevailed among the Saxons, but showing, perhaps, more distinctly Scandinavian influence. In Ireland the metal was equally in common use, as is found, for instance, in the bells of cast bronze, which had superseded those formed of riveted iron plates; and the celebrated bell of Armagh, which is one of the series, bears an inscription which fixes the date of its making as about the end of the ninth century.

But while these examples show us that the people of Western Europe were still familiar with the use of bronze for all purposes for which this metal was suitable, it is to the extreme north that we must look for the true origin of Dinanderie. The people of Scandinavia, as we have already stated, had from a very early period a wonderful proficiency in working in

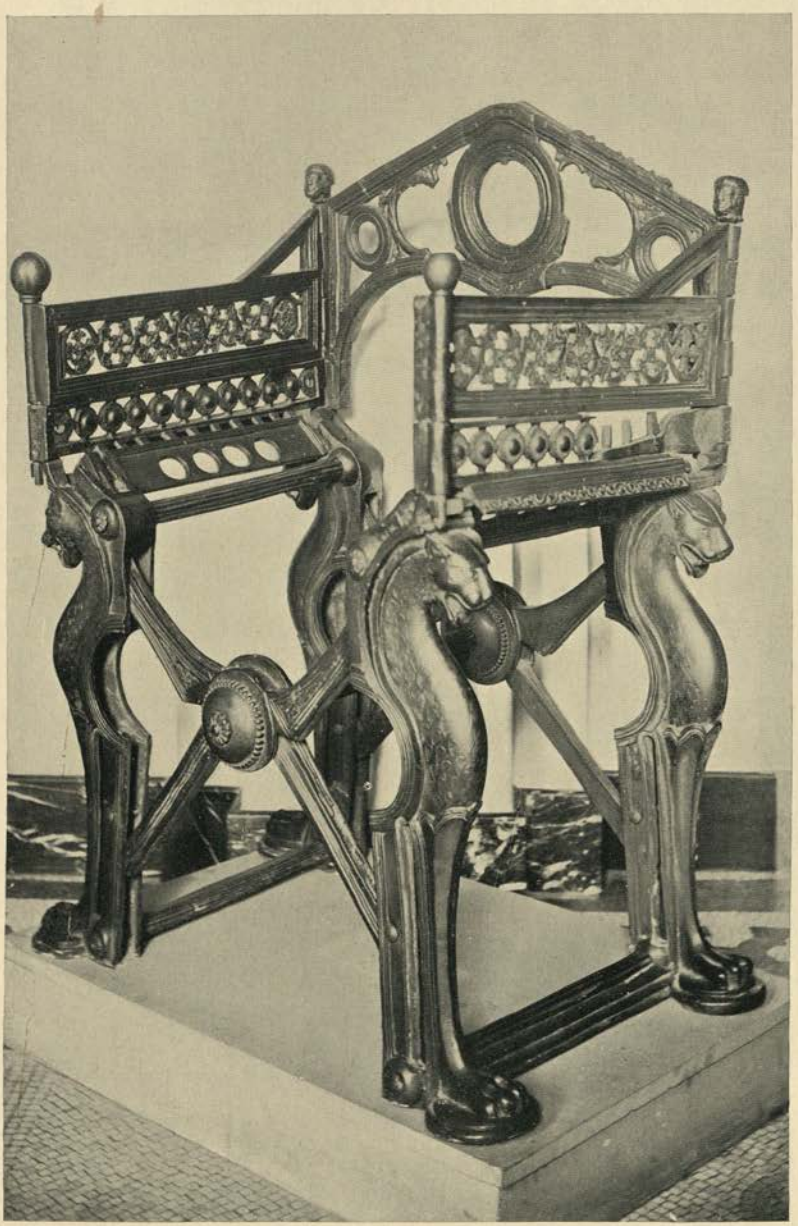

PLATE II

THE CHAIR OF DAGOBERT

bronze, casting objects of a considerable size with ornaments thereon in high relief. And they displayed this remarkable excellence not only in their weapons and warlike accoutrements, but in innumerable domestic objects which have survived to this day, many of which might have formed the models for the work produced later on in the Mosan towns. Among these are a great number of vases, pots, or chaldrons, the uses of which cannot now be accurately determined. These were often of an

FIG. 7.—PAIL, AABORG, DENMARK

FIG. 8.—PAIL, BAVENHOI

extremely graceful shape, and we reproduce two examples of these from Du Chaillu (Figs. 7 and 8). The former of these, which is ornamented with delicate engravings, was found in a bog near Aaborg, in Denmark ; it stands about eleven inches high, and is ten inches in diameter, and the engraving shows a sun borne on a ship which has zoomorphic terminations at each end. The second of these vessels is a vase or pail which might easily have passed as an early piece of Dinanderie, and was found in a grave at Bavenhoi in Himlingoi, Zeeland. It has an

elegant outline and is without engraving ; but very many others discovered in various bog-finds are richly decorated with figures and ornaments in relief, and many bear the religious symbol of the Svastica.

FIG. 9.—ALTAR CANDLESTICK, TRIER

The ornamentation of much of this Scandinavian work is remarkable for its interlacing serpentine folds with zoomorphic terminations, which we see almost exactly reproduced in early bronze work in Germany and France, such as, for instance, the little candlestick from Trier (Fig. 9). This peculiar form of decoration, common both to Celtic and Scandinavian work, is found in the wonderful series of early Irish manuscripts, where the extraordinary lacertine combinations of interlacing bands, curved eccentrically one within another, have never been exceeded for richness and variety. It appears in the gilt bronze

FIG. 10.—ORNAMENT, OLAND

FIG. 11.—ORNAMENT, GOTLAND

ornaments of Scandinavia at an early date, as may be seen in the belt-mountings found in Oland and Gotland (Figs. 10 and 11),

and is continued in much of the surface ornament of Norman architecture, as in the tympanum of an arch at Houghton-le-

FIG. 12.—CARVING IN TYMPANUM, HOUGHTON-LE-SPRING

Spring, County Durham (Fig. 12); and we shall presently see its reappearance as a leading characteristic of the earlier decorations of Dinanderie. As an example of interlacing work

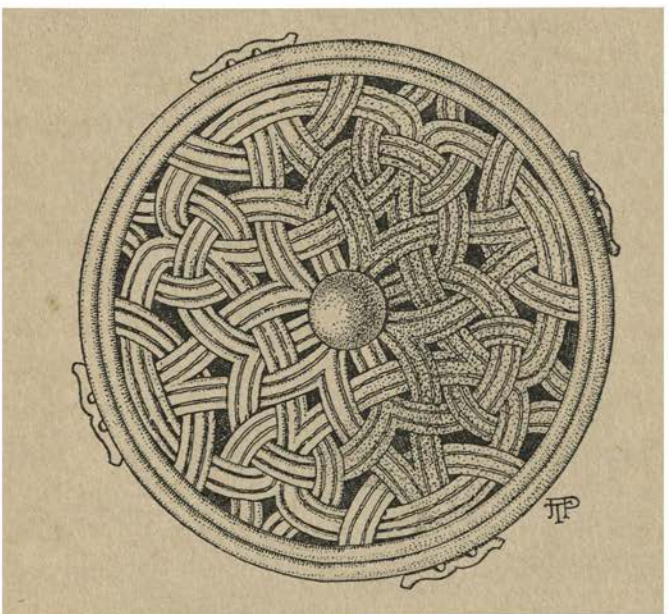

FIG. 13.—BOSS OF VIKING SHIELD, GOTHENBURG

without animals' heads, we give a bronze boss of a Viking shield in the Gothenburg Museum (Fig. 13).

We have already spoken of the heads which Charlemagne

had placed on the doors of Aix-la-Chapelle, and explained the probable source of his inspiration, since those masks were evidently intended to represent lions' heads as they appear in many Roman examples, though we find that a large number of the great heads which were placed on the church doors of the eleventh and twelfth centuries could never have been suggested by these classic models. But we find in the zoomorphic terminations of the interlacing folds of Scandinavian bronzes remarkable dragon-like heads, and in all such decorative work

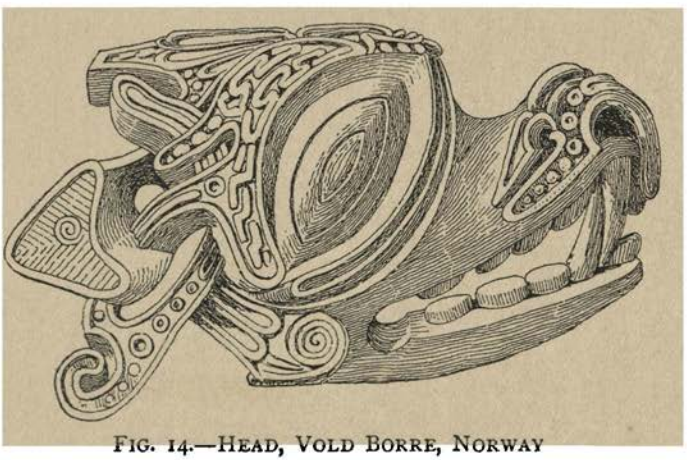

FIG. 14.—HEAD, VOLD BORRE, NORWAY

a tendency to introduce grotesque faces, as well as those serpentine forms and heads, which were perhaps intended to convey some religious symbolism. The skill with which these Northern artificers portrayed some of these heads shows both their cleverness in the treatment of the metal and the fertility of their imaginations, since they could never have modelled from life such a creature as, for instance, that which appears on the gilt bronze ornament on a horse-collar which we reproduce from Du Chaillu (Fig. 14). But more remarkable still is the griffin-like head which formed part of the treasure found in the Vimose bog, near Odense, in the island of Fyen, which

we here give (Fig. 15). A comparison of this with the celebrated "Durham Knocker" (Fig. 16), and the similar mask on the door of the Cathedral of Le Puy (Fig. 17), compels the recognition of the Scandinavian rather than the classic origin of these examples of Dinanderie. Indeed, Cahier, in his *Melanges archéologiques*, in speaking of these dragon shapes

FIG. 15.—HEAD, VIMOSE

which form so remarkable a feature in early candlesticks, admits that all these subjects bear the imprint of Scandinavian mythology.

The great dragon which now crowns the belfry of Ghent, and which previously served as the vane to the belfry of Bruges, has been cited as an example of the fondness of the Norsemen for draconic forms; and though it may be regarded

as a great specimen of Dinanderie, though of uncertain provenance, it reached Belgium too late much to influence the metal workers. It is constructed of gilt copper plates riveted on to a framework of iron, and measures some 10 to 12 feet

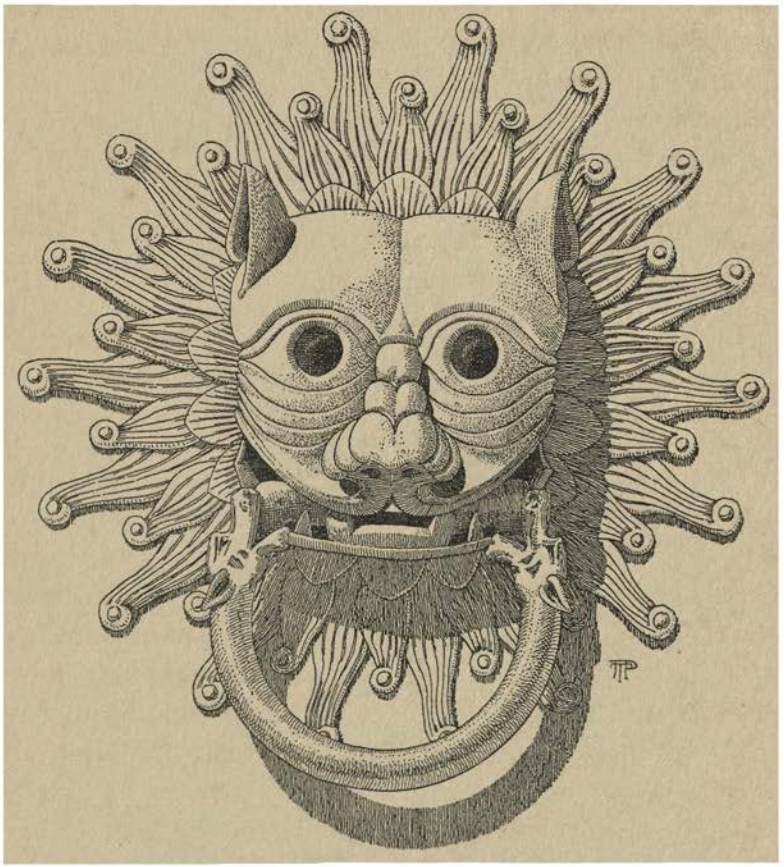

FIG. 16.—SANCTUARY RING, DURHAM

over all from head to tail. It was once fixed over Sta. Sophia or one of the gates of the Palace of Bucoleon at Constantinople, and was brought home by some returning Brugeois, to whom Baldwin IX. had given it in 1204. It is said that originally it belonged to a Viking ship, part of the fleet of King Sigurd,

by whom it was presented to the Emperor, and by his orders fixed over the church. The truth of the legend has been denied, but it had this much in its favour, that the dragon has a much more Scandinavian than Byzantine appearance. Charlemagne had also placed a vane over his church at Aix-la-Chapelle in the form of a gilt eagle, some 10 feet across, which Carlyle says in his *Frederick the Great*, "turned southward when the Kaiser was in Frankenland, eastward when he was in Teutsch or Teuton-land; and in fact pointing out the Kaiser's whereabouts to loyal mankind."

FIG. 17.—HEAD, LE PUY

Under these Roman and Scandinavian influences alone the earliest bronze work which succeeded on Charlemagne's revival of the arts in Northern Europe was carried on; but towards the end of the tenth century a third and very different influence was brought to bear upon it by the skilled workmen introduced into North Germany from Constantinople by the Empress Theophano, the daughter of the younger Romanus, Emperor of the East. She became the wife of the Emperor Otho II. when he was only seventeen years old, but after he was crowned as co-emperor with his father, Otho the Great; and after her husband's early death she became Regent of the Empire for her son, Otho III. Her personal influence and that of the artists she imported had considerable influence on S. Bernward and the school of North German bronze workers, the story of which we shall tell later on; but the Byzantine fashions, which so much affected the early art of Germany, was but slightly felt on the work of the Mosan towns, of France, or of England.

From this slight review of the artistic character of the bronze industry which was being vigorously carried on in the time of Charlemagne, and in the years anterior to it, it can be seen that, when he wished to decorate his new church with the remelted spoil of his enemies' weapons, he could have had no difficulty in finding skilled workmen able to carry the ideas of his architect into execution. Indeed, had he not been able to find the workers among his own countrymen, it is difficult to see whence he could have procured them, for the art was dead in Rome and almost forgotten in Constantinople. But it fortunately still lived in the North, and permitted the Emperor to adorn his tomb-house with the beautiful metal work which still embellishes it, and to carry on the ancient traditions to guide the metal workers of the mediæval period in the production of their Dinanderie.

CHAPTER IV

THE MATERIALS

WHEN any great manufacturing industry establishes itself and flourishes in a particular locality, it may be reasonably expected that the cause is to be found in the exceptional supply the place affords of one of the principal ingredients used in the process of that manufacture; and although many cases may be cited which would seem to controvert this theory, an inquiry into the facts of the case will generally show that, in the main, it is essentially correct. Neither copper nor tin is found to any appreciable extent in the neighbourhood of Swansea, although its principal business is in copper-smelting and the manufacture of tinned plates. The clay which forms the basis of the pottery industry of North Staffordshire is not found in that county, but has to be brought from Dorset, Devon or Cornwall. But in both of these cases the most important element in the production of the work was the fuel; and it was found cheaper to bring the materials necessary for the manufacture to the coal than to carry that to the places wherein they found the copper, the tin, and the potters' clay.

The manufacture of Dinanderie in the valley of the Meuse was a very parallel case to these; although the industry, early seated there, flourished through the greater part of the Middle Ages, in spite of the complete absence of copper and tin, which from all antiquity were considered essential to the production of bronze. The explanation of this, however, is simple; for we shall find that the people of the Mosan towns were

able to realise that which was only figuratively promised to the Children of Israel in their wanderings, for they lived in a land "out of whose hills thou mayest dig brass."

The bronze from which the weapons and implements of prehistoric times were made, as well as that employed for the more artistic work of ancient civilisation down to the dawn of the Middle Ages, was composed almost exclusively of copper and tin in varying proportions; and although lead is found in much of the Egyptian, Assyrian and Phœnician bronze, added probably for the purpose of adulteration by effecting a saving in the tin which was the more expensive metal, this, as well as other substances found by analysis to exist in these ancient bronzes, were generally accidental impurities resulting from the imperfect refining of the copper. Although zinc, under the name of cadmia, is spoken of by Pliny as a necessary ingredient of brass, its presence has never been traced in prehistoric bronzes or in the most ancient works of art; although traces of it, in sufficient quantity to suggest that its presence was not accidental, have been found in coins of imperial times.

Copper, which forms the largest proportion of both of the alloys known as bronze and brass, is one of the most widely distributed of metals, and it frequently occurs in large and almost pure masses, in which state it has the colour, hardness and malleability of the refined metal as we are accustomed to see it. In this state it may have been used to some extent in the earliest ages, as it was undoubtedly by the North American Indians before the introduction of Eastern civilisation; but it was too soft in that pure state to serve many purposes, and even where some knowledge of the art of melting it had been acquired, the difficulty of casting the metal, without the addition of some hardening alloy, rendered it valueless. How the discovery that a mixture of tin with the copper

formed the hard alloy known as bronze was made it is unnecessary to inquire into here, but it was no doubt known long before the Phœnicians sought out the tin-mines of Cornwall, if indeed that legend be true. An analysis of the lacustrine bronzes of the Savoy district shows that they resulted from a melting down of copper pyrites and tin-stone, and not by the fusion of already smelted ores; and the former of these could have been obtained locally in the valleys of the Are and the Isère, and the latter in the course of trading.

The sources from whence the copper required by the Mosan towns was supplied were mainly two, either oversea from Scandinavia or overland by Cologne from Goslar in the Harz Mountains; and of these the latter was the most important. From the second half of the eleventh century the *batteurs* were seeking for *cuivre brut* from beyond the Rhine, and the Emperor Frederick I. granted by charter special facilities to those of Liége and Huy for procuring both tin and copper at Cologne, and other charters, dated 1171, 1203 and 1211, extending these privileges more particularly to Dinant. The mines from which the copper was procured were those in the mountain of Rammelsberg, near the ancient imperial city of Goslar, which owed its importance to the discovery of gold and silver in the same mountain in the time of Otho I. These mines have been worked for at least eight hundred years past; and no doubt long before then, in prehistoric times, produced the copper for making the bronze weapons of the early Germanic tribes, as well as a sufficiency of tin for the alloy.

In the tariff which prescribed the dues to be received at Damme, the port of Bruges, authorised by the Countess Margaret of Constantinople in 1252, we find copper from Norway mentioned among the imports; and as it occurs in the list in association with the *chaudrons* of Dinant, it was

doubtless destined for use in the Mosan towns. The mines from which this copper was procured were most likely those of Falun in Darlecarlia, which were perhaps as ancient as those of Rammelsberg, and in the time of Birger Jarl, at the end of the thirteenth century, were being worked by the merchants of Lübeck for the benefit of the Hansa League and its allied towns, of which Dinant was one.

In this same tariff of Damme we find mentioned the importation of tin from England and Bohemia, and it may have been also obtained to a limited extent from the Rammelsberg; but it was always costly and difficult to procure, and the discovery of a valuable substitute in abundance along the banks of the Meuse and in the Ardennes soon made it an almost negligible consideration. It is highly probable that, although zinc was unknown as a distinct metal until comparatively modern times, it had long had a currency in metallurgy, and that it was the earth to which Aristotle refers as being fused with copper instead of tin to produce the light-coloured metal which was described as χαλκοῦς. As it was certainly known to the ancients under the name of "cadmia," since Pliny refers to it as "*lapis, ex quo fit æs, cadmia vocatur*," it is remarkable that so few traces of it have been discovered in the analyses of ancient bronzes; and it is more than doubtful if it came into any general use during the classic period.

The re-discovery of the material and the revival of its use in the early work of mediæval times may be the result of chance, and due to the accidental presence of calamine, with which the local limestone abounded, when old bronze weapons were being melted for refounding. At all events, whether the discovery of the metallic value of the calamine was accidental or not, it was quickly found to be equal to tin for the purpose of making the smaller objects of Dinanderie, and that the alloy thus made was superior to the ordinary bronze in colour and

many other respects. Moreover, it was cheap, since it abounded in the immediate neighbourhood and was to be had almost for the digging; thus it became a most important element in the success of the industry. Theophilus, writing of it in the eleventh century, speaks of it as a well-known essential to the manufacture of brass, but describes it, not as a metal, but as a red or yellow stone which is to be finely ground and mixed up with the copper, and the two melted together. This calamine is found in great abundance in the Vielle Montaigne by Liége on the right bank of the Meuse, and in the form of electric calamine in the Altenberg by Aix-la-Chapelle; so that with this wealth of the material about them, the Mosan towns may be said to have been able, literally, out of their hills "to dig brass."

CHAPTER V

THE PROCESSES

ALTHOUGH the manufacturers of Dinanderie were generally known as *batteurs de cuivre*, their operations embraced a large number of processes besides the beating or hammering of copper into shapes and the preparation of its two important alloys, brass and bronze. A skilled workman of the craft had to be able to arrange his metal in such a manner as to make it malleable for hammering or beating into moulds, or suitable for casting into shapes, and at the same time to prepare it with an eye to its eventual decoration by gilding, niello or enamel. Indeed, he had to be himself his own modeller, founder, enameller and gilder, and be as capable of handling the hammer as the burin.

The first process was in the preparation and mixing of the metals in their due proportions to form the alloys required, all the details of which are set forth by Theophilus in his *Diversarum artium schedula*. The copper, as well as the tin, by the time it reached the workman was, no doubt, so far fit for use as to require no further smelting or other preparation; but in the case of copper, if the articles to be made from it, whether used by itself or as a component part of brass or bronze, should eventually require to be gilt, it had to be carefully refined to extract from it any lead it should chance to contain. If the objects to be fabricated were of such a character that they could be produced by the hammer, chisel and graver alone, such as reliquaries, book-covers and hollow vessels afterwards to be gilt, they were generally made from pure copper; and

very many of the most beautiful examples of Dinanderie were so formed. If, however, they were to be of a heavy and more or less solid character, or if they were to be decorated with niello work, or champlevé, or cloisonné enamels, they would generally be formed of brass or bronze cast in moulds.

The preparation of the brass and bronze was a work requiring considerable care and experience, and was, as a rule, carried out by each workman in his own atelier. In the case of bronze, as the copper and tin of which it is formed were generally in a sufficiently pure state for immediate use, regard only had to be paid to giving to each its due proportion in the alloy; but in the case of brass, the zinc not having been already extracted from the ore, the exact proportions of the two metals could not be so readily ascertained. The calamine was therefore ground into a powder and mixed with the copper, which was also broken up into small pieces, and the two were thus fused together; and if the result was not satisfactory, further calamine was added until brass of a suitable quality was produced.

Having by these means obtained the necessary material for his manufacture, the workman had now a choice of two courses which he might adopt for the fabrication of his ware, as the circumstances or the character of the article to be made might suggest. The simplest, and perhaps the most ancient, manner was that of first forming the metal into thin plates and hammering it into the shapes required; and from this being a most common method among the workers they became known by the name of *batteurs*. The metal plate being prepared, the work was commenced by bossing up or beating out from the back the main protuberances required for the design by means of a hammer having a rounded head. The main details of the design, such as the forming of the eyes, the markings of the hair, and the articulations of the fingers and toes, were chased

on the face of the work, and the finer lines sculptured out with the chisel. Where this finishing work was particularly delicate or very heavy, and was likely to affect the contours of the projections already beaten out, the hollows of the back were first filled up with resin or some other such substance, which was afterwards melted out, of sufficient hardness to resist the blows or pressure of the chasing tools.

Perhaps one of the best examples of this mode of treatment to be adduced is the well-known retable of Coblenz, a work of the twelfth century, now at S. Denis, having been carried off to France by the Revolutionary forces. It consists of six panels or compartments, each containing two of the apostles seated, and over the two central panels is the half figure of Christ, blessing with His right hand, and in His left holding a book inscribed "Pax vobis." Of this beautiful work all the panels are undoubtedly ancient, but the dividing columns and much of the frame may be a modern restoration; and all the old work is formed of sheets of copper repoussé in high relief and gilt. The detailed work of the figures has been formed by placing the sheets over a model prepared in some hard material and beating down the general surface to fit it, forcing the metal into the folds of the drapery or the hollows of the features with a blunt point of wood or iron. After this process the model has been removed and the hollow space filled up with lead or resin, and then the finer work, which the harder surface of the model would have resisted, worked on the face by the chasing tools. Not only is the whole surface of the work richly gilt, but the nimbi are all decorated in enamels.

This mode of forming raised ornaments was carried to great perfection, but ultimately led to a considerable degradation of the art, when machinery was imported into the manufacture. Dies of hard wood or steel, such as those used by bookbinders for stamping leather, were formed, and small pieces of thin

metal were laid over these and beaten into the hollows. The little ornaments thus formed were then soldered on to the face of other work in so exact a manner as to make the whole appear as if cast in one piece. Much of the beaten work was also soldered together, as in the case of small vessels or reliquaries, where the stems, feet, or other projecting parts were fastened on to the body of the object in this manner.

But by far the most important branch of the work in bronze and brass was executed by the founders, and included the fonts, lecterns and candlesticks, as well as the greater works of sculpture, and smaller articles such as censers. The manner in which these were produced is very clearly described by Theophilus; but the art is as old as the manufacture of bronze itself. Stone moulds for the casting of spear-heads have been discovered among lacustrine remains; and the more difficult process of preparing the moulds with wax, known as the *cire perdue* process, must have been understood by the early workers in bronze of Scandinavia. It is simple to describe, but required the greatest care and experience successfully to carry into effect. A rough model, called the core, formed of broken bricks or pounded crucibles, well compacted together and approximating to the finished form of the object to be cast, but smaller, was first made, and after being thoroughly dried in an oven, it was overlaid by a thin coating of wax, the surface of which was exactly modelled to represent the finished casting. Through the wax casing and into the core were inserted small bars of iron, well secured, and then over the face of the wax was spread a coat of plaster or liquid clay, thin at first so as not to disturb the wax, but made sufficiently thick by added layers and strong enough to be able eventually to hold in the weight of molten bronze. Vent and duct holes having been made through this outer casing, the whole was again thoroughly heated through, until all the wax had melted and run out

through the duct holes, when the internal core was left suspended by the little iron bars with a hollow space all round it between it and the outer casing, and into this the molten metal was poured, and the casting was made.

When the whole had been allowed gradually to cool, the outside mould was broken off and the inside core raked out through convenient spaces left for the purpose, and the casting stood complete ready for the finishing touches of the chisel and the burin. But this process, which looks in the description so simple, became difficult and hazardous when the object to be cast was pierced by an open-work design, as was generally the case with censers, candlesticks, and the like, and portions had to be left in varying thicknesses and masses. The danger then was lest the whole should cool unevenly and result in fractures; and it speaks highly both for the care and skill of these early mediæval founders that they were able to produce so many perfect and important works by this method.

On the completeness of the casting depended, to a great extent, the amount of work which had yet to be expended upon it by the chisel; but a large amount of finish had always to be given to the more important works by engraving, as, for instance, in the inscriptions which so frequently occur on all Dinanderie, in the articulation of the leaves, the hatching of the grounds, and other such work as could not be produced in the casting. In the case of the so-called Gloucester candlestick (Plate VI.), and those from S. Michael's, Hildesheim, which so closely resemble it, the casting is in one single piece, and nearly the whole of the raised work has been executed in the casting without being subsequently touched up with the chisel, and only the lettering and some other engraving have been added afterwards by the burin.

Although many of the smaller pieces of beaten work which were made in separate parts were put together with solder,

this was not the case with the larger pieces of cast work, such as lecterns and candlesticks. Some of the later fonts also had their pedestals and bowls in distinct castings; and in the case of Louvain the pedestal itself was built up in a number of separate pieces. In the great paschal and other candlesticks and in the lecterns there is generally a rod of copper or iron running up the stem, which unites all the lengths and knops together, and holds them in position by a screw and nut at the bottom. The large space left in the pedestals of the lecterns has at times served as a useful hiding-place for valuable documents and other things, as was the case with the eagle lectern of Southwell Cathedral, which once stood in the choir of Newstead Abbey. The monks of the Abbey at the dissolution had vainly endeavoured to conceal all their title-deeds in the stem of the lectern; and there they were found, carefully rolled up, when it was fished out of the Abbey pond in the course of the last century.

Much of the Dinanderie, particularly such as is of French provenance, was decorated in champlevé or cloisonné enamels, especially altar candlesticks, reliquaries, pyxes and similar objects; but although there seem to have been established ateliers for this class of work, especially at Huy and Verdun, it must be regarded as to a great extent accidental or extraneous to the work, and therefore beyond the scope of our subject. There was, however, one mode of decoration practised by all schools and at all periods on which much of the Dinanderie depended for its effect, and which was essential to its proper completion. This was the gilding, which became so marked a feature in the art that a large number of these gilded copper and bronze objects are frequently ranked among the products of the goldsmith's craft.

The process of gilding on copper and bronze is very carefully explained by Theophilus; and the care with which it

was executed, as well as the perfection of the materials used, have made it so enduring that although gilded objects have been lost or buried for centuries they have been, by simply washing them with an acid to clear off the oxidisation, at once restored to their pristine splendour. The articles which were most usually wholly or partially gilt were reliquaries, retables, crosses and crosiers, and the metal divisions of the enamels; and where these articles are still in use they retain nearly all their original brilliancy. The numerous effigies forming parts of sepulchral monuments, so many of which still remain, were also generally gilt; and that of Margaret, Countess of Richmond, can still be seen in Westminster Abbey much in the state in which it was left by Torregiano.

The medium employed in the gilding was mercury, and where it was only used occasionally or in small quantities it may not have proved very deleterious to the workers; but that it caused them much injury is shown by the history of the tomb of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, in Notre Dame, Bruges. In that case the sculptor had to provide, beyond the 14,000 florins which he was to receive for his own work, for a payment of 40 florins to each of his workmen as compensation for the loss of his teeth, caused by the process of gilding the tomb.

PART II

HISTORICAL

CHAP. PAGE

VI. THE SCHOOLS 53

VII. GERMANY 57

VIII. THE NETHERLANDS 68

IX. FRANCE 77

X. ENGLAND 86

XI. ITALY AND SPAIN 94

CHAPTER VI

THE SCHOOLS

In giving the history of the rise and progress of the copper, brass and bronze industries, and of the changes they underwent in the course of time in their form, style and decoration, for very many reasons it will be most convenient to arrange it under the heads of the geographical divisions of the countries as they are known to us at the present day; although it must not be forgotten that the boundaries of some of these countries have varied from time to time, and now differ very much from those which existed at the commencement of the mediæval period. But at the same time the local peculiarities which appear in much of the work make any such distinction, whether for arrangement or comparison, inexact, and at times apt to be misleading.

Many French archæological writers have been content to divide the work into two important schools only, the Rhenish and the French, or, as others more definitely call them, the Rhenish and the Limousin, and to arrange all the bronze and enamel work of Western Europe under these two heads; but it is scarcely necessary to say that such a broad division, however satisfactory from a French point of view, cannot be accepted either as correct or even as convenient.

From the beginning of the eleventh century, if not earlier, when these objects of brass and bronze manufacture began to be manufactured for civil and ecclesiastical uses, we find that they were produced by skilled lay artists working singly or in the association of guilds, as well as by members of conventual

bodies; and this in varying proportion in different countries and at different periods. It was in the great Benedictine monasteries that the artistic crafts were fostered and exercised during the closing centuries of the first millennium; and it was in the scriptoria and workshops of these and other reformed orders that the traditions of the earlier workers were preserved, and which made possible the handbook to the arts and crafts produced by the monk Theophilus in the early part of the eleventh century, entitled *Diversarum artium schedula*. This circumstance necessarily increases the difficulty of making any satisfactory geographical arrangement, since it is evident that the several monastic bodies of any one order having close and frequent intercourse with allied chapters in other countries would have the character of their work affected by such association and to some extent stereotyped by the usages and traditions of their particular order. On the other hand, the lay associations would be much less trammelled by traditional methods, and tend to develop peculiarities of their own in working and design which would lead gradually to the formation of a distinctive style. In the Mosan towns, in Flanders, and perhaps on the Rhine, the work seems early to have fallen almost entirely into the hands of lay artists, and the earliest names of Walloon workers which we possess, such, for instance, as Regnier of Huy, appear to be those of laymen; whereas in England and France, at least to a much later date, all such work which has survived to our own time seems to have been produced within the convent walls.

The lay associations or guilds, particularly those of towns which became allied to the Hanseatic League, did a large amount of export business; and it is clear that when new churches were being built in this country, or old ones were being restored, recourse was had to the markets of the Low Countries, which were stored with the furniture which became

necessary. The fonts of blue Tournay stone, carved with reliefs from the story of S. Nicholas of Myra, to be found at Winchester and other places in England, which used to be regarded as the work of early Norman sculptors, are a case in point; and in the same way, by some means which answered to our modern trade catalogues, the makers of Dinanderie spread a knowledge of their wares in this country among those who might be desirous of adorning their churches, and thus made known to them what they could procure. Thus we find that when the Abbots of Holyrood, to repair perhaps the waste of some English raid, wished to present their church with a new font and lectern, they obtained them from abroad; and the lectern which was given by Abbot Creighton, after he became Bishop of Dunkeld, is fortunately preserved at S. Albans to this day.

But this general exportation of Dinanderie must have considerably affected the character of the local styles in the countries importing the ware, where imitations of the foreign goods would doubtless be attempted. Moreover, among some of the more pushing and mercantile of the factories, the modern idea of making the wares to suit the taste of the foreign market undoubtedly grew up, as was the case with the so-called Limoges enamel manufacture, much of which was prepared in imitation of the styles of the Rhenish provinces; thus adding to the difficulty of any geographical arrangement.

The history of the progress of the manufacture in any one country, however complete, must show many interruptions and breaks in continuity due to circumstances which only the general history of the country will disclose. We have seen in the story of the Mosan towns how, after flourishing for three centuries with exceptional success and brilliancy, the turbulence of the workers and their internecine strife scattered the industry and its craftsmen over Flanders and Brabant, and inflicted a blow

to its prosperity from which it never recovered. In France the Hundred Years' War and the devastations of the Jacquerie raged with peculiar fierceness through the provinces in which the enamelled Dinanderie, known as Limoges ware, was produced; and this put an end for so long a time to its production, that when again it was revived it had entirely lost its original character. In England, although there were no great manufacturing centres to be disturbed by the civil troubles of the Wars of the Roses, the art of bronze sculpture, which native artists had brought to such perfection under the Plantagenets, was dead in the time of the Tudors; and the bronze effigies produced in England at the end of the Gothic era were the work of an Italian sculptor of the Renaissance. Germany can show a magnificent series of sculpture in bronze from the earliest years of the mediæval period until its close; but there were times when, in the internal troubles of the country, the manufacture of artistic objects almost ceased.

CHAPTER VII

GERMANY

When the flood of Norman barbarism, which in the ninth century overspread north-western Europe, had subsided, and the buildings Charlemagne had erected in his capital city emerged little more than superficially damaged, Aix-la-Chapelle became once again the centre of German culture, and the emperors of the Saxon dynasty, which succeeded the Carlovingian in the tenth century, made it again their official residence.

The chemical waters of Aix-la-Chapelle and the remains of the Roman town of Aquisgranum had made the place specially attractive to Charlemagne, and had induced him not only to erect there his principal palace, but also to build the great minster in which he was to be interred at his death. To give a greater sanctity to the church, he wished it to be erected according to the traditional form of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, and in that belief it was built according to the model of Justinian's Church of S. Vitale at Ravenna, and like that adorned with marbles, mosaics and bronzes; and it was solemnly consecrated in the year 804 by Pope Leo III., in the presence of three hundred and sixty-five bishops and archbishops, with a ceremony worthy of its destination and splendour. In front of the church was a great atrium, as at old S. Peter's, Rome, surrounded with a portico connected with the imperial residence, in the centre of which stood the kantaros, or lavatory, of which the bronze pine-cone formed a part. A large square open porch flanked with round towers stood at the entrance

to the church and enclosed the pair of bronze doors, which still remain, although the atrium, porch and original doorway have long since been destroyed. The circular church, so far as its main structural features are concerned, remains much as it was left by its builder ; and while the marbles and mosaics have to a great extent disappeared, the ancient bronze railings still occupy their original position round the triforium gallery. On the side of the rotunda opposite to the entrance, where now stands the great Gothic choir, was only a small square recess in which was placed the altar ; and it was somewhere in this recess, perhaps in front of the altar, and not beneath the central slab of the floor as a misleading inscription states, that the great emperor was buried.

> " In Aachen Abbey's consecrated ground,
> Within the hallowed stone
> They placed the Imperial body, robed and crowned,
> Seated as on a throne."

Although there is no doubt that he built the church to be his tomb-house, yet at his death, which occurred in Aix-la-Chapelle, there was some uncertainty as to where he should be buried ; and his interment at first was of a temporary character, until his son, Louis the Pious, arrived from Aquitaine and selected the position for the grave. After being embalmed he was seated upon a marble throne, the same which is now preserved in the triforium, but which was then covered with plates of gold, girded with his golden sword, holding the gold-bound Gospels on his knees, and his crown fastened on by a golden chain ; he was clothed in his imperial robes, with his pilgrim's golden wallet which he was accustomed to carry to Rome, and his golden sceptre and shield, which had been consecrated by Pope Leo, were suspended before him. The tomb was then filled up with perfumes, balsam and musk, and much treasure in gold,

and it was then closed up and sealed; and the grave with its rich store of metal work were forgotten in the troubles which followed when the tide of Norman devastation passed over it, leaving it unrecognised and undisturbed.

When the last of the Carlovingian dynasty had died out in Germany, and the Hungarian inroads from the east had followed on those of the Norman, the Germans, breaking with old traditions, elected Henry the Fowler of the House of Saxony as their emperor. His complete success over the barbarians, both of the north and the east, permitted him at the end of his reign to leave a settled and peaceful state to his son Otho, who revived that glorious era of art and learning which had been inaugurated by Charlemagne, and which under Otho's son and grandson made Germany during the latter half of the tenth century the most civilised state in Europe. Otho I., known to history as Otho the Great, restored the buildings in Aix-la-Chapelle, and was consecrated there in 936; and in 951 he made his first journey to Italy, when he married Adelaide, Queen of the Lombards. Although at that time he did not extend his visit to Rome, he did so in 962, when he revived the empire of Charlemagne, and he and his queen received the imperial crown in S. Peter's from Pope John XII. During his reign the gold and silver deposits in the mines about Goslar seem first to have come to light, and the wealth he derived from them enabled him to carry out many of the great enterprises which distinguish his name. The remainder of his life, however, had to be mainly spent in suppressing the constant revolts of his Italian and Roman subjects; but he lived to see his son Otho married to Theophano, the daughter of the Byzantine Emperor, Romanus II., and both of them consecrated as his successors in S. Peter's before his death in 973.

The marriage of Otho II. to the Greek princess had undoubtedly a beneficial influence on the artistic work of the

period in Germany. She herself was apparently a woman of considerable culture and energy, and would have in her train those who were not only used to the refinements of the eastern court, but skilled in the arts of jewellery and the manufacture of gold and silver work. Their influence on the contemporary productions in the precious metals is sufficiently obvious, but the supposed Byzantine character which this gave to the designs of the bronze workers has been much exaggerated. One circumstance which appears to have been mainly due to her, and had a far-reaching effect for good, was the gathering to her husband's court of learned German ecclesiastics, who became tutors to her son, and her own friends and advisers after Otho's untimely death in Rome in 983.

Chief among these were Willigis, Archbishop of Mainz, and Bernward, who was afterwards Bishop of Hildesheim; and they were not only the chief advisers of the Empress Theophano during the time she governed the empire as regent, but continued to be the friends of her son Otho III. during his short reign. To the Archbishop was due the erection of the Cathedral of Mainz, begun in 978, and burned down again in 1007, the year of its consecration. The bronze doors which he made for it in 988 survived the fire; and although for centuries they served for another church in the city, they have been restored to the present cathedral and remain the sole monument of his work. Besides these bronze doors, the Archbishop presented to the cathedral a crucifix which weighed six hundred pounds, made up of a number of pieces accurately fitted together, and he, like his friend Bernward, was evidently a patron if not a professor of the arts of metal work.

Bernward was born at Hildesheim about the middle of the tenth century, and was educated by his father, who was a learned man himself, in theology, philosophy and medicine, and perhaps to this latter, born as he was in the neighbourhood

of Goslar and the Harz mountains, he may have added a practical knowledge of metallurgy. We find him attached to the court of the Empress Theophano in the year 987; and in 993 he became Bishop of Hildesheim. The Emperor Otho III., who had been crowned in 996, came to Aix-la-Chapelle to visit the tomb of his great predecessor in the closing years of the tenth century, perhaps residing for a time in the palace; but no one was able to point out to him the exact place of Charlemagne's interment. A search was therefore made for him, the Emperor himself directing the operations, and by breaking through the vault they found him sitting on his throne with the crown on his head as described. Little was then done to disturb him or the many treasures by which he was surrounded, unless it was that on this occasion the crown was removed, and the vault was again reverently closed up. Bernward was no doubt among those to whom this remarkable vision was granted; and the revelation it afforded of the rich jewellery and wonderful carving of the ancient sarcophagus on which the feet of the dead emperor rested, could not have been without its influence on one so skilled and so artistic as the Bishop showed himself to be in after years.

In the year 1001 Bernward went to Rome at the command of Otho, who gave him a dwelling near his own palace on the Aventine; but within a few days of his arrival a rising of the Romans compelled the Emperor to fly, and the Bishop, with the Holy Lance in his hand, headed the sortie through the surrounding rebels. He was then sent back to Germany to collect further forces; and it is doubtful if he again returned, as the Emperor, the last of his dynasty, died in Rome the next year, and was buried at Aix-la-Chapelle in a tomb a little to the eastward of Charlemagne's.

For the next twenty years of his life Bernward seems to have devoted himself to the affairs of his diocese, and in

building the great Church of S. Michael at Hildesheim and in embellishing it with the beautiful bronze work which has made it and the cathedral so famous. It may be remarked here that neither his architecture nor his bronze work betray any of the much-talked-of Byzantine feeling, which, if it appear anywhere, is confined to the smaller examples of the goldsmith's art; and it is evident that it was in fostering an artistic spirit among workmen already skilled in the details of their crafts of metal work that the influence and inspiration of the Empress Theophano showed themselves.

The two most important bronze works directly due to Bishop Bernward were the pair of doors which are now in the cathedral, and the Christussäule, or triumphal column, which he erected in his new Church of S. Michael. He must have noticed, perhaps more than once, the bronze doors of Aix-la-Chapelle, and he may have seen those remaining in Rome, and must certainly have heard of those which his friend Archbishop Willigis had placed in his Cathedral of Mainz; but the Hildesheim doors differ completely from these more classic examples, and are perfectly original in their design. According to an inscription they bear, they were made in the year 1015; while the Christussäule is ascribed to 1022, the year in which S. Michael's was consecrated, and in which the Bishop died.

This monumental column was undoubtedly an imitation, or perhaps only a reminiscence, of the Trajan and Aurelian columns in Rome, on a very reduced scale (Fig. 18). Although the capital and perhaps a surmounting cross have disappeared, it still stands some fifteen feet in height, the subjects being arranged spirally round the shaft. The base, which is attic in profile, had at the four angles little figures holding vases, from which poured the water which surrounds the base. The various scenes rising from the bottom are presented in twenty-eight tableaux taken from the life of Christ, commencing with

His baptism in the Jordan, and ending with His triumphal entry into Jerusalem. The figures are fairly well modelled, and betray less of the archaic Lombardic character than shows itself in the stone carving of S. Michael's Church.

A comparison of this column with the two altar candlesticks preserved at Hildesheim, also attributed to Bernward, which show the same free use of the human figure, with a correctness of modelling unusual at that early date, may suggest that the Bishop had some very special inspiration in his work; and it is not too much to suppose that the sight he had of the footstool, on which the feet of Charlemagne rested in his tomb, an ancient Roman marble sarcophagus finely carved with the Rape of Proserpine, may have much struck his artistic fancy.

It is worth mentioning here, if only as a curious coincidence, that the Cathedral Church of Gnesen, founded by Otho III. in honour of S. Adalbert, who in his lifetime was very intimate both with Archbishop Willigis and Bishop Bernward, has also a pair of bronze doors, not only similar to those of Hildesheim, but in all probability made there at some slightly subsequent date.

FIG. 18.—CHRISTUSSÄULE, HILDESHEIM

There are also other works remaining at Hildesheim which are attributed to Bishop Bernward, though both the great corona and the

remarkable brass font belong to a later period; but there is little doubt that the school of metal workers thus founded in the city continued for a long time, and may have produced many of the works to be found scattered all over North Germany.

The bronze doors of Augsburg, which we will describe later on, are generally regarded as slightly anterior in date to those of Hildesheim; and we pass to the next important historical event in Germany affecting the art of metal work, which was the re-opening of the tomb of Charlemagne for the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, and the removal of the remains, together with the store of golden relics by which they were surrounded. This happened in 1165 during one of Frederick's infrequent visits to Germany, in his presence and that of the Archbishop of Cologne and the Bishop of Liége; when the sceptre and other symbols of royalty were removed to serve in the coronation ceremonies of future emperors. The crown, however, must have been already removed, as it appears to have been used at the coronation of the Emperor Conrad III. in 1138, when the arch and the inscription set in pearls which it bears, CHOVONRADVS DEI GRATIA ROMANORVM IMPERATOR AVG, were added. Charlemagne's canonisation was proclaimed on the occasion of the disinterment, and Frederick presented to the church, in commemoration of the event, the great corona which still hangs there, and ordered the preparation of a magnificent shrine to contain the remains, which was not completed, however, until a much later date.

In 1215 Frederick II. was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle, and then only were the remains placed in the finished shrine; but after some years, and all through the Middle Ages, it was believed to contain the body of a S. Léopard, until in the last century when, through the exertions of Canon Bock, the shrine was re-opened and the identity of the remains of the great emperor established. This Frederick II., who spent most of

his life in Italy, is described by Gregorovius as the first founder of a collection of antiquities, and it is related of him that, finding on the slopes of Monte Cavo two bronze figures of a man and a cow, he had them transported to his castle in Luceria, the Saracenic colony where he frequently resided.

That there were many places in Germany throughout the Middle Ages where the smaller articles of Dinanderie were manufactured and whence they were distributed, whether the shops of individual workers or small factories, is evident from the many names we find inscribed on them. Thus we see on the lion-headed knockers of the western doors of the Cathedral of Trier, which may date from the eleventh century, the names of John and Nicholas of Bingen, and on the thirteenth-century font of Würtzburg Cathedral the name of Master Eckard of Worms. But a vast number of these objects may have been made in the places where they are now found, either by local workers or by travelling artists; for the tools and apparatus required for such operations as casting were not more cumbersome or more difficult to carry about than those needed by the itinerant bell-founders to whom we owe so many of our ancient peals.

It is suggested by some remarks of Paul Lacroix in his *Les Arts au Moyen Age* that the travelling tinker of to-day is descended from such itinerant workers, for he says that in the Middle Ages the copper *batterie de cuisine* of a baronial mansion was of the utmost importance, and depended for its repair and upkeep on the attention of such *chaudronniers ambulants*.

Of the bronze sculpture, which formed so remarkable a feature of the German school of metal work towards the end of the mediæval period, perhaps the finest early example is the equestrian statue of S. George and the Dragon cast in bronze by Martin and George of Kolozsvar, in 1373, restored somewhat in 1562, which now stands in the courtyard of the

Hradschin at Prague (Plate III.). This work is contemporary with that of the celebrated Nuremberg sculptor, Sebald Schonhofer, who carved in stone the twenty-four statues of the Schönebrunnen between 1360 and 1370, and a hundred years before the date of the more celebrated bronze sculptor, Peter Vischer.

Peter Vischer was the son of another Nuremberg bronze caster Herman Vischer, who is known as the maker of the bronze font in the Stadtkirche of Wittemberg in 1457, where he seems to have established a connection, as his more celebrated son erected in the Schlosskirche there the bronze statue of Frederick the Wise in 1527. Numerous other fine works of Vischer's in bronze are found in places as widely scattered as Magdeburg, Römhild and Breslau; in the cathedral of the first of these places is the magnificent monument to Archbishop Ernst, erected in 1495, and at Breslau one to Bishop Johann, made in the following year. But his chief work, on which he was engaged from 1508 to 1519, with the assistance of his five sons, was the well-known shrine of S. Sebald at Nuremberg, and his last great work before his death in 1528.

The great monument which closes the series of mediæval bronze sculpture in Germany is the incomplete tomb of the Emperor Maximilian I. in the Court Church of Innsbruck. What the arrangement of the monument was originally intended to be cannot now be exactly determined, as the central sarcophagus, on which the bronze effigy of the emperor kneels, executed by Ludovico del Duca in 1582, is entirely of a renaissance character adorned with marble bas-reliefs; while the bronze "weepers," which were no doubt originally intended to surround a very different sort of tomb and which have been attributed to Peter Vischer, are now merely stored in another part of the church. The remarkable feature of the monument is the series of twenty-eight colossal bronze figures arranged in

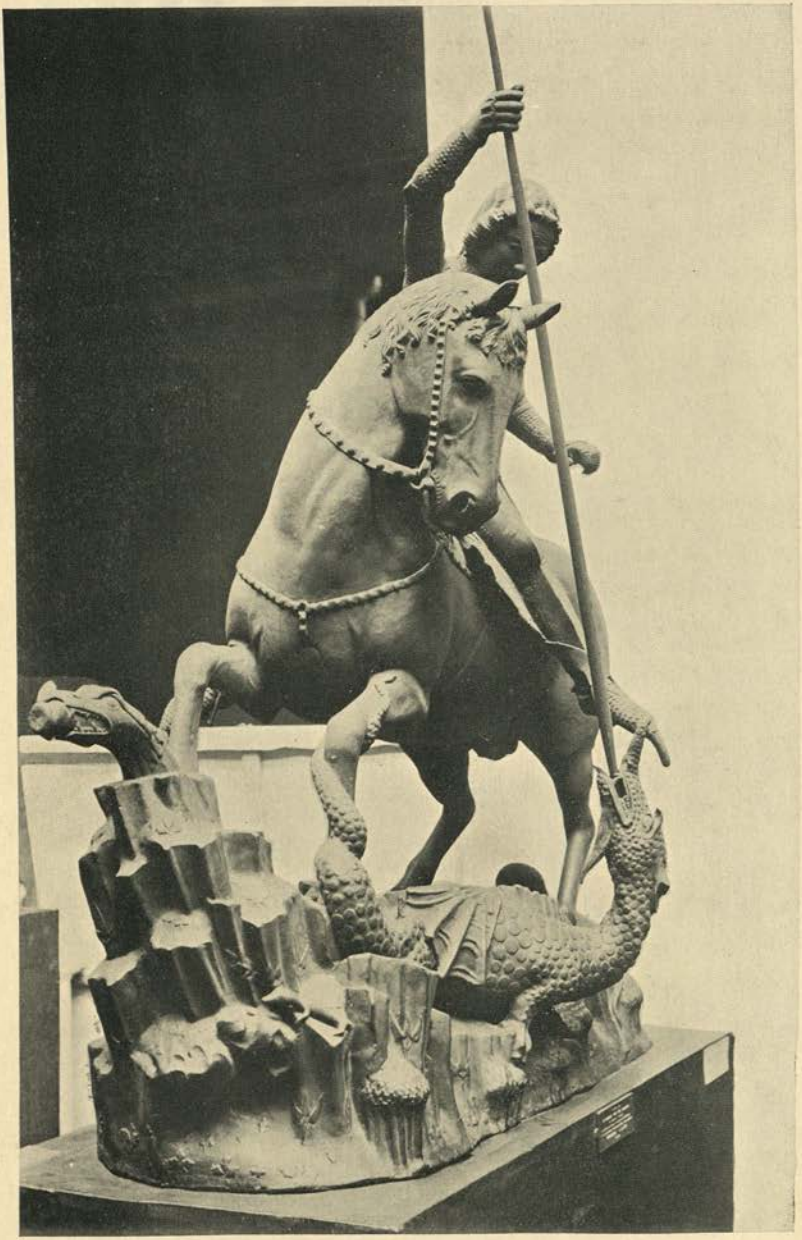

PLATE III

BRONZE STATUE OF S. GEORGE, PRAGUE

two rows on each side of the church, representing ancient heroes supposed to be connected by kinship with the house of Austria.

As to the authorship of these figures there has been a great difference of opinion. They are generally supposed to have been cast by the Tyrolese sculptors Löffler between the years 1513 and 1533. These were a family of Innsbruck artists, of whom the first known was Peter, who flourished at the close of the fifteenth century, and was succeeded by Elias and Hans; and another, Gregory, who died in 1565 and is buried in the neighbouring church of Hötting, who has been more particularly associated with the monument. By some, however, the figures have been attributed to the artists Stephen and Melchior Godl, and some of the later work to Hans Lendenstrauch.

No doubt all these works were originally modelled in wax for the casting; and a recent discovery in the Church of S. Sigmund in the Pusterthal, near Brixen, shows how perfectly these wax figures were made. This is the kneeling figure of Count Leonard of Görz, who died in 1500, and it is accurately coloured to represent life; but that it was merely intended to serve as a votive effigy, and not for casting, is shown by the fact that it is modelled on a wooden core.

CHAPTER VIII

THE NETHERLANDS

THE division which the French writers make of Dinanderie into merely two schools—the French and the German, including the work of the Netherlands in the latter—is so far correct that it must be acknowledged the influence of Aix-la-Chapelle is equally apparent at Hildesheim and in the Mosan towns ; while, in spite of barbarian inroads, it is evident from the story of Lothair's jewel that the traditions of the craft lingered along the banks of the Meuse from the time of Charlemagne until its revival in the eleventh century. In the history of the Mosan work we cannot point to any such great event as Bishop Bernward's sudden revival of the art at Hildesheim, since the authorship of some of the best and earliest work of the school is lost in obscurity.

The history of Belgian Dinanderie practically starts at the commencement of the twelfth century with those two well-known works, the font in the Church of S. Bartholomew at Liége and the so-called censer of Lille, both of which are formed of cast metal sculptured and engraved, and both now attributed to Regnier of Huy. Of these the former was made for the chapel of Notre Dame aux Fonts, the baptistery of the Cathedral of S. Lambert ; and when that was destroyed in the Revolution the font was fortunately preserved and placed in S. Bartholomew's (Plate IV.). Until recent years it has passed as the work of one Lambert Patras of Dinant, made in the year 1112, but the

PLATE IV

FONT, S. BARTHOLOMEW, LIÉGE

researches of M. Kurth have pretty well established the theory that it was the work of Regnier of Huy, whose name occurs on the Lille censer. The original story was taken from the writings of Jean d'Outremeuse, a native chronicler, and ran much to this effect. In the year 1112 the Emperor Henry V. besieged and took the city of Milan, and gave some of the spoil to his nephew Otbert, Bishop of Liége, who shared it with some of his followers who were also with the army, among whom are mentioned Richard the Chanter who was satisfied with some relics, and Bertrand de Lardier, a knight of Liége, who obtained some objects in latten or brass; while the bishop contented himself with a curious collection of twenty-eight metal beasts representing stags, cows, pigs and hounds. Apparently not knowing what to do with his collection, the bishop gave it, and perhaps de Lardier also gave his store of old metal, to one Hellin, a son of the Duke of Suabia, who was the Provost of S. Lambert and secular abbot of Notre Dame aux Fonts; and the metal and the beasts were entrusted to a good batteur of Dinant, by name Lambert Patras, who manufactured out of them the font in question. Unfortunately for the truth of the legend, it is contradicted in one essential point by the font itself, for that now stands, as it always did, on ten oxen, and not on a collection of twenty-eight various beasts. Moreover, the Bishop of Liége was no relation to the Emperor Henry V., there was no siege of Milan in 1112, and both the Chanter and the knight are quite unknown to history. The only element of truth in the story seems to be the connection of Hellin with the matter, since we find that there was a canon of the cathedral of that name from 1107 to 1118, during which period the font was most probably made.

As the font forms the earliest of a long series of metal fonts to be found in the Netherlands, Germany and Scandinavia, a detailed description of it here will be convenient.

The bowl is circular, resting on the backs of ten oxen, and round the upper rim run these verses :—

CORDA PARAT PLEBIS DOMINO DOCTRINA IOHANNIS
HOS LAVAT HINC MONSTRAT QVIS MVNDI CRIMINA TOLLAT
VOX PATRIS HIC ADEST LAVAT HVNC HOMO SPIRITVS IMPLET
HIC FIDEI IOHANNIS EST PETRVS HOS LAVAT HOSQVE IOHANNES

and round the lower rim are engraved these :—

BIS SENIS BOBVS PASTORVM FORMA NOTATVR
QVOS ET APOSTOLICÆ COMMENDAT GRATIA VITÆ
OFFICIIQVE GRADVS QVO FLVMINIS IMPETVS HVIVS
LÆTIFICAT SANCTAM PVRGATIS CIVIBVS VRBEM

Around the bowl are sculptured five subjects in high relief with the name of each of the persons represented inscribed above them. The five groups are: 1. S. John the Baptist preaching in Judea; 2. S. John baptizing in Jordan, over which group is engraved EGO VOS BAPTIZO IN AQVA VENIET AVTEM FORTIOR POST ME IPSE VOS BAPTIZABIT IN SPIRITV SANCTO; 3. S. John baptizing Christ; 4. S. Peter baptizing Cornelius the Centurion, over which is written CECIDIT SPIRITVS SANCTVS SVPER OMNES QVI AVDIEBANT VERBVM; 5. S. John the Evangelist baptizing the philosopher Craton, and on the book which S. John holds is written EGO TE BAPTIZO IN NOMINE PATRIS ET FILII ET SPIRITVS SANCTI AMEN.

Of Regnier of Huy, to whom this early and beautiful work of art is now attributed, little or nothing is known beyond the facts that he appeared as witness to a deed which is still extant, in which he describes himself as an "aurifaber" or goldsmith, and he put his name in the dedicatory prayer engraved on a censer which he made, generally known as the censer of Lille.

This censer obtained its present distinguishing name from the accident of having been for many years in the private collection of M. Benvignat, an architect of that town, and

not as any indication of the place of its manufacture ; although Viollet-le-Duc asserts, in his *Mobilier*, on what appear to be very insufficient grounds, that it is of French fabrication. The censer is in the form of a sphere standing on a foot, and is decorated with three great circles enclosing fantastic creatures among the involutions of the ornament, the ground being pierced for the escape of the incense smoke. The top is surmounted by a winged personage, around whom are seated the three children saved from the furnace, Ananias, Misrael and Azarias, whose names are inscribed on the circles below ; and the whole work does not exceed $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches in height. It was originally suspended by three chains, but these, as well as the cap to which they were fastened, have disappeared. The great interest and value which attaches to this censer, beyond its beautiful workmanship, lie in the engraved inscription running round the upper and lower rims, which reads, taking each of the three compartments separately, thus :—

✠ HOC . EGO . REINERVS . DO . SIGNVM . QVID . MIHI . VESTRIS.
EXEQVIAS . SIMILES . DEBETIS . MORTE . POTITO.
ET . REOR . ESSE . PRECES . VRANS . TIMIAMATA . XPO.

M. Didron, in his *Annales archéologiques*, commenting on this inscription, says, " Who was Reinerus ! we do not know, and perhaps never shall ; " but the researches of M. Kurth seem pretty well to have identified him with the " aurifaber " of Huy.

But while Regnier may be accepted as a representative of the lay craftsmen of the Mosan towns, we have, early in the next century, a most prolific and artistic worker who was not only not a layman, but a monk, whose previous position in life made it impossible for him to have been a regular working batteur ; and who by such, no doubt, must have been regarded as a mere amateur. This was Hugh de Walcourt,

who became a monk in the Augustinian Priory of S. Nicholas at Oignies, which his brother had founded near his castle of Walcourt between the Sambre and the Meuse. He has not only inscribed his name on several of the beautiful works which he executed for the priory, but has left a portrait of himself in niello kneeling in his monastic habit and presenting a book to S. Nicholas. When the abbey was suppressed, a large number of Brother Hugo's works were fortunately preserved, of which there are now sixteen in the Convent of the Sisters of Notre Dame at Namur, two are in the old church at Walcourt, and one, a crosier, is in the British Museum.

One of the most important of these works is a reliquary monstrance supposed to contain one of the ribs of S. Peter, of peculiar form, and richly carved, gilt and adorned with niello. It is decorated with figures of S. Lambert of Liége, S. Servais of Maestricht, S. Augustine and S. Nicholas, and between these are interspersed hunting scenes, with dogs, hares and other animals, mixed with entwining foliage. The crescent-shaped portion of the reliquary bears the legend, IN HOC VASE HABETVR COSTA PETRI APOSTOLI, and round the border of the foot runs this valuable inscription, RELIQVE ISTE FVERVT HIC RECODITE ANNO DOMINI. M. CCXX. OCT. FRAT HVGO VAS ISTVD . OPVS . EST . ORATE . PRO . EO. The name of Brother Hugo appears upon other pieces of his work, but this reliquary, as bearing a date, is of the utmost historical value.

The celebrated shrine of copper gilt which contains the relics of S. Gertrude of Nivelles must perhaps be reckoned among the conventual productions, as, although we know it was fabricated in 1272 by Nicolon de Douai and Jaquemon de Nivelles, the design was supplied by another Jaquemont, a monk of the Abbey of Anchin.

In the middle of the next century we get two other pieces of church furniture marked with the name of a Dinantais in

the Church of Notre Dame at Tongres. These are a brass eagle lectern, which is inscribed, HOC OPVS FECIT IOHANNES DCS IOSES DE DYONANTS, and a brass paschal candlestick, 10 feet high, which bears the inscription, ✠ IEHANS IOZES DE DINANT ME FISTE L'AN DE GRAS MCCCLX ET XII; and these are the last pieces which can be particularly identified with Dinant. Jacques de Gerines, however, who made the beautiful tomb for Louis de Male, which was destroyed with the Church of S. Pierre at Lille in which it stood at the time of the Revolution, is described as the son of a Dinantais; and the little brazen-weepers from the tomb, which have been fortunately preserved, attest to his skill as an artist.

Mention must be made of the great copper gilt figure of S. Michael, some 17 feet high, which surmounts the spire of the Hotel de Ville at Brussels. It was set up in 1454, a few years before the fall of Dinant, and its maker was one M. van Rhode, but whether he belonged to Brussels or elsewhere we cannot now say.

At the fall of Dinant in 1466 the scattered survivors established themselves, as we have already seen, in other towns along the Meuse, as well as in Brussels, Tournay and Bruges, with which cities they had already had, in the course of their business, frequent and intimate connection; but one of their settlements was made under peculiar and promising circumstances, the story of which is worth relating.

The little town of Middelburg in West Flanders had been founded by Sir Peter Bladelin, Treasurer to the Order of the Golden Fleece, who was thus intimate with Philip le Hardi, the then Duke of Burgundy, and his son, the Count of Charleroy, the destroyer of Dinant, who was better known when he succeeded to the dukedom as Charles the Bold; and this intimacy afterwards brought him into close touch with the Duke of York, who afterwards became Edward IV.

Bladelin had a fine mansion in Bruges, still to be seen in the Rue des Aiguilles (Fig. 19), and as he was doubtless much mixed up in the concerns of the city, he had participated in the damage it had sustained through the silting up of its port at Damme; and thus it was that he founded a new town nearer the harbour of the Zwyn, no doubt hoping

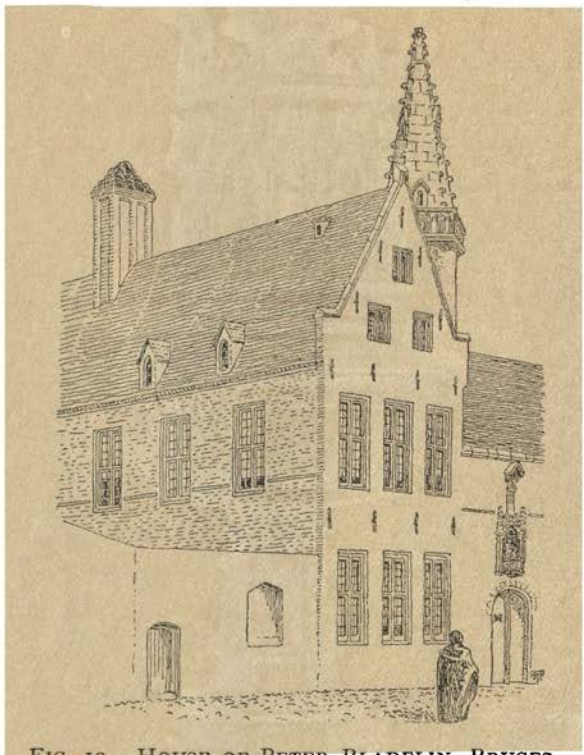

FIG. 19.—HOUSE OF PETER BLADELIN, BRUGES

it might retain some of the traffic which was passing away to Sluys. He had fortified the town and built himself a castle there, and when the fall of Dinant happened he induced a colony of Dinantois to settle in it. Such was his influence with the English king, who possibly visited Middelburg in 1468 when he was at Damme for the marriage of his sister Margaret of York with Charles the Bold, that he

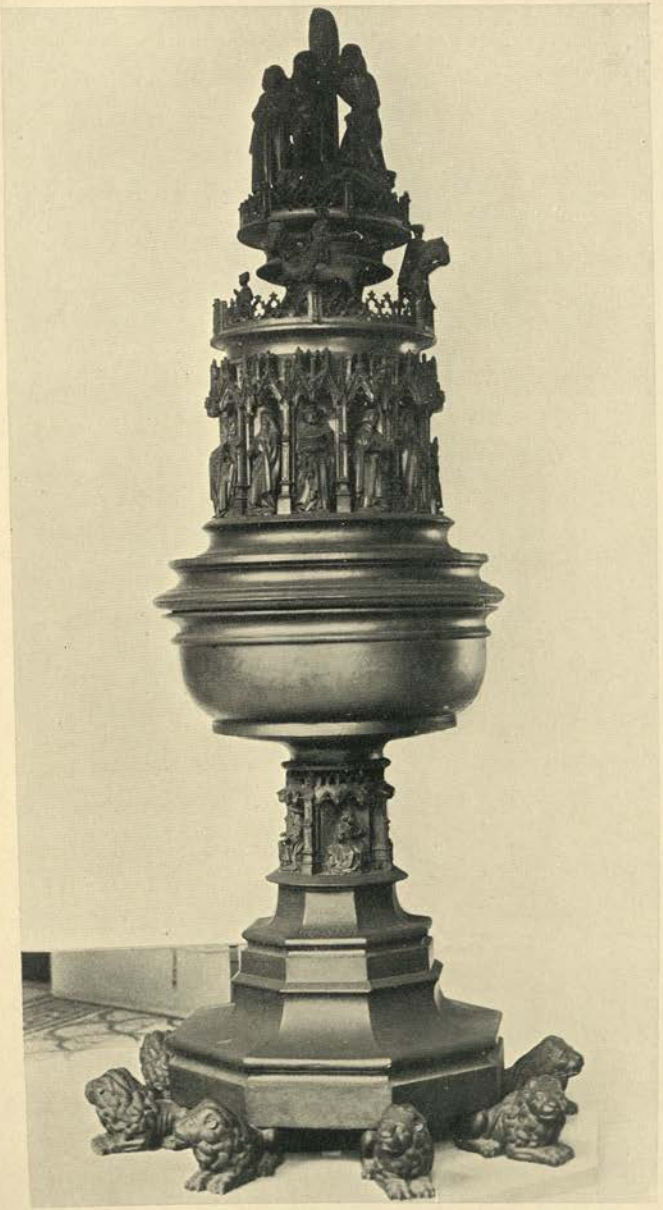

PLATE V

FONT, S. MARTIN, HAL

obtained from him a charter, which was confirmed at Westminster in November 1470, conferring on the batteurs of Middelburg the right to import their wares, free of duty, into England. It is sad to relate that the quarrelsome spirit of the Dinantois had not been cured by the fate of their native city, and they began to mix themselves up in the troubles of their neighbours, and they so provoked the Brugeois that they, in 1488, attacked and dismantled the town. The sea retired still further away, and this completed its ruin; and now, save for its great church, it has little to distinguish it from the surrounding hamlets, and few maps even record its name.

Towards the end of the fifteenth century we have two fine pieces of work, the authorship of which we know to be due to William le Fevre, a founder of Tournay; one is the lectern in the Church of S. Gislain, near Mons, made in 1472, and the other the font of Hal, of which we give an illustration (Plate V.). This brass font has a circular bason on a stem, round which are seated the four doctors of the church in canopied niches, resting on an octagonal base standing on eight lions; and round the upper moulding of the base is inscribed, CES FONTS FIST WILLAUME LE FEVRE FONDEUR A TOURNAY L'AN MIL. CCCC. XLVJ. The cover is of a most elaborate description, having figures arranged round it in three tiers, the lowest having those of the Apostles in niches with canopies; above these, again, are four figures representing S. Martin, S. Hubert, S. George on horseback, and a lady kneeling, who may represent possibly the donor; and at the top of all is the Baptism of Christ by S. John.

There is another brass circular font, slightly later in date, in the Church of S. Martin at Wyck, on the river-side opposite to Maestricht, which bears this inscription, JOHANNES A VENLE ME FECIT ANNO DOMINI M. CCCC. LXXXII., from which we may

conclude that some batteurs had established a factory as low down the Meuse as Venloo in Holland.

The last important works undertaken in the Netherlands at the close of the mediæval period and still remaining are the two beautiful monuments to Charles the Bold and his daughter, Mary of Burgundy, now relegated to a side chapel, but once standing in the choir of Notre Dame at Bruges. Of these the earlier is the one to Mary, designed by P. de Beckere, a goldsmith of Brussels, who commenced the work in 1495 and completed it in 1502. The later one to Charles was made by J. Jongelincx and J. Aerts from the designs of M. Gheeraeds, and not set up until 1538. The adventures through which these tombs passed at the time of the French Revolution, and the means by which they were saved, make up an interesting story ; and having regard to the destructive instincts of the spoilers of that period, as well as the neglect, if not worse, of the proper guardians, it is extraordinary that the churches and museums of Belgium should still possess such a wealth of beautiful Dinanderie.

CHAPTER IX

FRANCE

THE history of the manufacture of Dinanderie in France begins at a much earlier date than that of Germany and the Netherlands, and it owes its origin to quite different sources. The earliest work which appeared along the banks of the Rhine and Meuse was to a great extent founded, both in workmanship and design, upon Scandinavian traditions modified by imported classic influences; whereas in Gaul the original classic methods and ideas were still active when they began to be affected by the taste or necessities of its uncivilised conquerors. Both of these provinces had at an early date and for a brief period an artistic outburst of singular vigour to be quickly obscured by civil troubles or the ravages of incursive barbarians; and in both of them it revived with sudden and remarkable brilliancy almost at the same time, and continued to flourish throughout the Middle Ages. In France the work of S. Eloy at Limoges and in Germany that of Charlemagne at Aix-la-Chapelle were the first important developments of the art, which after a long suspension was revived under the Othos in Germany by Bishop Bernward at Hildesheim, and in France under the Louis by Abbot Suger at S. Denis.

Perhaps the first mention of the manufacture of Dinanderie in France occurs in the tradition that Clovis, after his defeat of Alaric, devoted the spoils of his camp to the Church of S. Hilary at Poitiers, and made therefrom the bronze doors for the church and an eagle of copper. These King Dagobert, the friend and patron of S. Eloy, carried off and dedicated to the Church of

S. Denis by Paris. If there is any truth in this story, and it gains support from the fact that there were bronze doors to this church as recently as 1706, then those of Poitiers were the first bronze doors cast in Europe subsequent to the fall of Rome.

The history of French metal work, which practically commences with S. Eloy, is unfortunately to a great extent legendary, since no actual work of his survives, nor anything we can with certainty ascribe to his influence, except it be the so-called chair of Dagobert, and the coinage of the reigns of Dagobert and Clothair II. which bear the name Eligius.

Eloy was born in the village of Chatelat, some two leagues from Limoges, in the year 588, and is said to have been early placed with a goldsmith named Abbon, who was specially skilled in his art. Limoges had been an important Roman town, and no doubt many of the families then residing there were of Gallo-Roman descent and inherited many of the traditions of Roman civilisation. The town in those days must have worn a very classic aspect, and one at least of its great public buildings, the amphitheatre, was standing perfect centuries after in the reign of Louis le Debonnaire. Eloy's skill in the craft of metal work early brought him under the notice of Clovis II., as we find that at the age of thirty he was attached to the Court of Dagobert, who succeeded to the throne of all France in 628. In 636 he was sent on an important mission to Judicael, King of Brittany, and in 640 he was consecrated to the Bishopric of Noyon. Before this date he had become so wealthy from the profits, or perquisites, of his employment that he was able to found the Benedictine Priory of Solignac on the Briance in the Limousin, which became the cradle of the Limoges school later on ; but after his accession to the Bishopric, the affairs of Noyon, where he also founded the Abbey of S. Loup, must have engrossed all his time and practically severed his connection with Limoges.

The chair of Dagobert (Plate II.), with which tradition associates S. Eloy's name, is a work of gilt bronze, the most ancient portion of which may have been copied from a Roman curule chair; but it was much added to in the twelfth century by Suger. One curious circumstance in the history of this chair deserves to be mentioned here. When Napoleon I., elated with the prospect of his conquest of England, was at his camp at Boulogne in 1804, he had this ancient chair brought from Paris; and on the 13th of May he had it planted on the seashore in sight of the English cliffs, and used it as a throne from which he distributed the medals to commemorate a conquest he was never to make.

The fame of S. Eloy as a metal worker rests, like that of our own S. Dunstan, to a very great extent on tradition, although they were both important historical personages, who were not only bishops, but afterwards became saints. In their conduct, however, in one particular at least, they seem to have differed essentially. Half the troubles of S. Dunstan's life were due to his bold denunciation of what he conceived to be the wrong-doing of his sovereign; while S. Eloy appears to have been very complacent under similar circumstances. His friend and protector, King Dagobert, to whom he was chief councillor, was a great spoiler of churches and a notoriously evil liver; and his eventual narrow escape from damnation, through the timely intervention of three Gallic saints, is told in monkish legend by the hermit of Stromboli, who witnessed the occurrence, and is portrayed in a bas-relief over his tomb in S. Denis. Yet when Judicael, the King of the Bretons, came to Dagobert's Court on affairs of state, he avoided his table as if he had been excommunicated, although S. Ouen and S. Eloy showed no such scruples.

S. Eloy died in 659, and was buried in his abbey church at Noyon, which later on was known under his invocation; and

we hear little more of metal work through the long period of trouble which, save for the interval of Charlemagne's reign, oppressed the north of France, until long after the close of the Carlovingian dynasty. One name only of consequence has been preserved from the early part of the eleventh century, and this was of a monk of Dreux, called Odorain, who seems to have made a great many objects to furnish the churches which had been founded by King Robert.

As the revival of the art of metal work in Germany was due to a cleric whose close association with the Court gave him many advantages, so it was in France where Suger, the Abbot of S. Denis, served as Chancellor both to Louis VI. and Louis VII., and was himself, like Bishop Bernward, a man of considerable culture. Beyond the fact that he was born in 1082, we know little or nothing of Suger's early life. The most important event with which his name is associated was the rebuilding of his abbey church in what must have been considered at the time an entirely new style, pointed arches being freely used, and all the distinguishing marks of early Gothic being present. The rebuilding of the nave was completed in 1140, and the choir was begun the same year, and so far advanced in 1144 that King Louis with his then wife, Eleanor of Aquitaine, afterwards to be Queen of England, were present at the consecration ; and Suger died in 1152. Between the completion of the church and his death he devoted himself to its decoration ; and we find, among other things, that he erected a *jubé* adorned with bronze ornaments, and covered the principal doors of the church with plates of enamelled copper and bronze. These were presumably the metal doors already referred to as destroyed in 1706 ; and this might seem to dispose of the story of the gift by Dagobert of the bronze doors from Poitiers, but for the specific account of them given by Viollet-le-Duc. In his *Dictionnaire raisonné l'architecture*, he says in the

article *Vantail*, that when Suger rebuilt the abbey church he replaced the doors covered with plates of bronze and decorated with foliage and animals from Poitiers as too valuable to discard. But he put them in one of the side doorways and not in the centre or main entrance, and for this he made new doors covered with bronze, sculptured with scenes from the Passion, the Resurrection and the Ascension, as well as other histories, and a representation of himself prostrated on the ground.

All Suger's work in S. Denis having been destroyed, we have nothing, except the additions to Dagobert's chair, to which we can refer as identified with him; but his example when alive, and the works he seems to have left behind him, were a worthy prelude to the brilliant school of metal workers which so distinguished France during the Middle Ages. But in one particular his example was not followed, as no other bronze or plated doors seem to have been again made in France; though in the cathedrals of Le Puy and Brioude there still remain the ancient bronze knockers, perhaps of the twelfth century, the latter of which (Fig. 20) is said to be inscribed with the name of its maker, one Giraldus.

There is a difficulty in dealing with the history of mediæval French metal work in consequence of the enormous destruction of the specimens which took place at three different epochs from widely different causes; and although the museums, such as those of the Louvre and the Hotel Cluny, as well as some of the cathedral treasuries, such as Reims and Sens, yet preserve a considerable number of the small and more precious pieces of Dinanderie, the larger ones, such as doors, lecterns, fonts, candlesticks and tombs, which are so numerous in Germany and the Netherlands, have almost entirely disappeared.

No doubt much loss of early work resulted from the Hundred Years' War, and the spoliation of the country which followed, when noble knights organised bands of freebooters,

who were not ashamed to embroider their flags with such a device as this :—

Qui Robert Canolle prendera
Cent mille moutons gagnera.

But the first important and most destructive of these periods

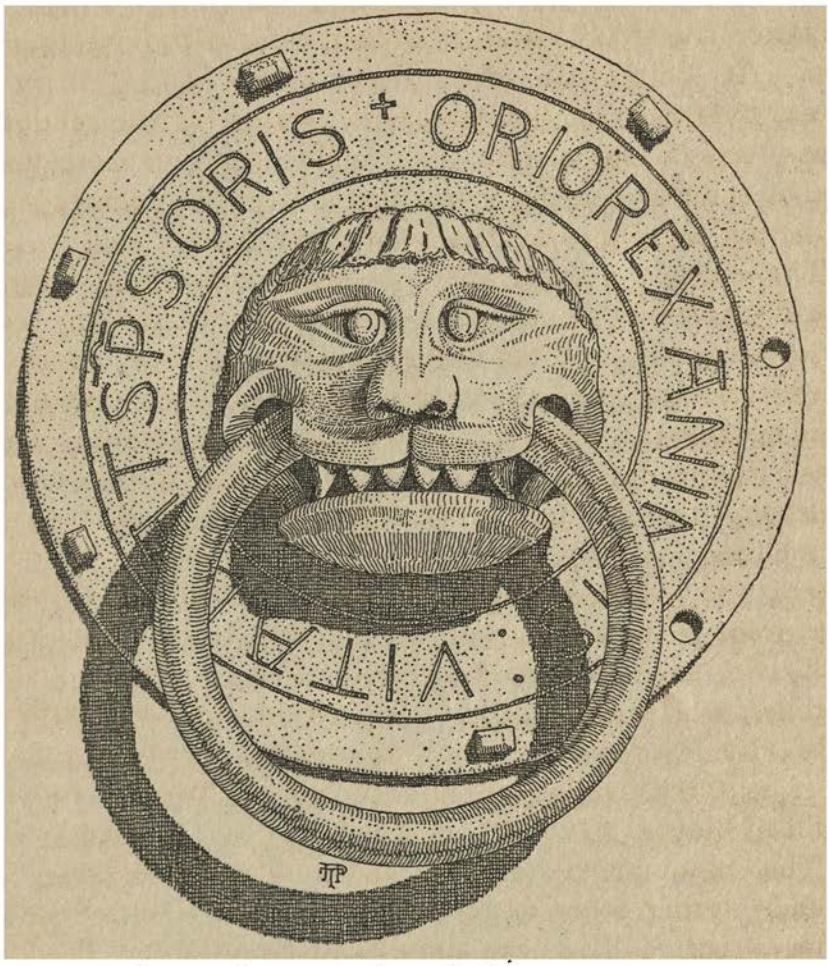

FIG 20.—SANCTUARY RING, S. JULIAN, BRIOUDE

was in the sixteenth century during the religious wars, when a large number of the more precious objects, such as the great

reliquaries and chasses of gold, silver or enamelled copper, were either stolen from the churches or melted down by their owners to pay the ransoms demanded by their enemies. Sometimes they were filched by a trick, as in the case of the treasures of Pontigny, where, when the abbey was fearing an attack from the Huguenots, they were entrusted to the care of a noble lady who, after the trouble was over-past, refused to give them up again. At Poitiers in 1542 the Church of S. Hilary was pillaged by a party of Gascons, who carried off the reliquaries, chasses, crosses and all the gold and silver ornaments to the value of some 400,000 francs; and all over the country similar destruction went on, which we have now to deplore.

The second period of ruin was more sweeping and perhaps more disgraceful than the first, since it was dictated by a mere caprice of fashion. This was during the more prosperous and settled times of the seventeenth century, when the pseudo-classic taste of the Court of the great Louis, objecting to Gothic art as barbaric, decreed the remodelling of the church furniture, and most of the old metal work remaining passed again through the melting-pot. But the last and most disastrous period was that of the great Revolution, when everything of intrinsic value went to the Mint, and all the brass, bronze and copper work was melted down for utilitarian purposes, and the churches, where they escaped destruction, were left with bare walls. Little or nothing escaped this last gleaning, save such things as were overlooked or which their owners were successful in hiding.

The monumental effigies and tombs in bronze, which abound in other countries, particularly those of the close of the mediæval period, have been almost entirely destroyed in France; and the few remaining have generally to be sought for in museums often far removed from the places in which they were originally set up. The royal tombs at S. Denis were destroyed

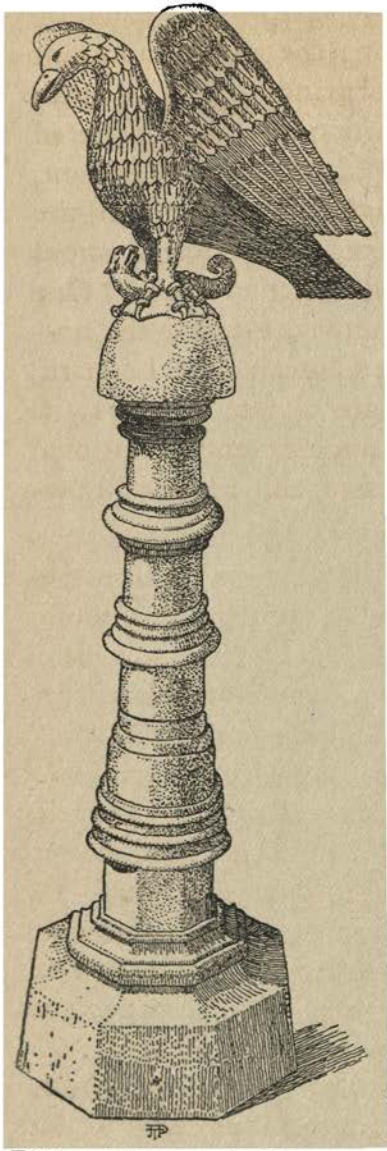

FIG. 21.—LECTERN, S. LÉONARD-DES-CHAMPS, HONFLEUR

with vindictive thoroughness at the Revolution, and among them a most beautiful monument, erected in the thirteenth century to Charles the Bald, grandson to Charlemagne, of which drawings have been preserved, which were made before it was melted down in 1793. Charles is represented in half-relief habited in the costume of the thirteenth century on a flat slab diapered and inscribed, of cast bronze; the ground and portion of the robes being enamelled and the rest gilt. At the corners were little kneeling figures of bishops, and the angles of the slab were supported by bronze lions on short stone columns. In Amiens Cathedral are two bronze tombs very similar in treatment, with the figures in half-relief, but without any enamel. One of these is to Bishop Eward de Fouilly, the founder of the present cathedral, who died in 1223; so that this ranks among the earliest bronze effigies in Europe.

Although the manufacture of Dinanderie had in all probability ceased in Limoges at the close of the fourteenth century, for the later "Limoges enamel" scarcely ranks as Dinanderie, it no doubt continued in many other centres in France; as for instance in Lyons, where as early as the thirteenth century a *batteur* of Dinant, by name

Servi, was established and counted among the most important workers in that city. In Lower Normandy, in the little town of Villedieu-les-Poels, in a picturesque valley watered by the river Sienne, somewhat recalling the aspect of Dinant, copper work and brass founding were actively carried on until the eve of the Revolution, and lecterns, crosses, lamps, candlesticks and censers were produced as on the banks of the Meuse. One lectern, which owes its origin to this factory, escaped the universal destruction, and is still in use in the Church of St. Léonard, Honfleur (*Fig.* 21). Although of so late a date as 1791, its design is strictly in accordance with ancient and traditional usage, and bears witness to the good taste and artistic knowledge of its founders.

CHAPTER X

ENGLAND

In attempting anything like a history of mediæval metal work in England, we are met with the same difficulty as in the case of France, in the destruction of nearly all the movable furniture of the churches at the time of the Reformation, and the loss of whatever escaped in the subsequent centuries. In one respect we are, however, more fortunate, as with us there was not the same wilful destruction of the royal effigies; and we retain in these and others some remarkably fine examples of bronze sculpture extending from the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries.

Among our Saxon ancestors the art of metal work, both in bronze and the more precious metals, attained considerable excellence and owed much of its beauty to Scandinavian and Celtic traditions, while from the time of Alfred onwards it fell under the influence of the German art revival; and its development was due to a great extent to the fostering care of Athelstan, and the guidance and example of S. Dunstan. Dunstan, who was the son of a West Saxon noble, was born in 924, the year of Athelstan's accession to the throne, and received his earlier education from Irish scholars settled at Glastonbury and from Irish books. He seems from the first to have been devoted to a religious life, for he received the tonsure when a child; but he spent most of his youth at Court in consequence of some relationship to the King. He, however, retired early from this idle sort of life, and resumed his studies at Glastonbury, where he became a monk, though under no

very definite rules, and he joined no community, for he presently built himself a cell, which served at the same time for a workshop, wherein he carried on the various crafts, including metal work, in which he afterwards became so proficient. At the death of Athelstan he returned to Court, but having in some way offended King Edmund he passed over into Germany in 943, where he found a friend and protector in the Empress Editha, the sister of Athelstan and wife of Otho the Great. During the two years he remained abroad he had the opportunity of studying Charlemagne's bronze work at Aix-la-Chapelle and of witnessing the commencement of that art revival in Germany which we have already described. His subsequent career in England, his troubles with the Court, how he became successively Bishop of Worcester and of London and Archbishop of Canterbury, and his journey to Rome for the pallium, are well known; but the chief thing which concerns us was his establishment in this country of the Benedictine order. He had to some extent studied its organisation during a short visit he had made in exile to the Court of Baldwin II. of Flanders and his wife Elfthryth, a daughter of Alfred, and seen how that order promoted the study of the arts and crafts. One of the rules of S. Benedict provided that if there should be artists in the community, they should exercise their crafts in all reverence and humility, provided the abbot shall have ordered them ; and we have seen how S. Eloy established a Benedictine house at Solignac, and the Priory of Oignies in which Brother Hugo worked was governed by Augustinian rules even more favourable than those of S. Benedict to artistic education.

S. Dunstan died Archbishop of Canterbury in 988 ; and although there is no example of his handiwork surviving, we know that he produced two great bells for a church at Abingdon, as well as crosses and censers for Glastonbury, besides

having built an organ and being very proficient in church music. What his censers were like we may guess from the one found at Evesham, having a cover resembling the tower and spire of Sompting, which is inscribed "*Godric me woorkt*," "Godric made me"; and another found in the Thames, near London Bridge, with a cover also resembling the tower of a Saxon church, which is now preserved in the British Museum.

As nearly all the church fittings have disappeared, we have but little material on which to institute a comparison between the work of England and that of the Continent during the mediæval period; but enough remains to show the continuous use of bronze during the whole time. We find it employed for constructional purposes in the early part of the thirteenth century at Salisbury Cathedral, where it can be seen in the small rings which hold in to the central columns the isolated marble shafts of the great piers, as well as in the moulded abacus to the central pier of the western entrance, which has to bear a specially heavy weight; and it is also used in the moulded bands of the nave piers of Westminster Abbey. We have it also remaining in the form of sanctuary rings, or knockers, in several places, such as Adel Church, Yorkshire, S. Gregory's Church, Norwich, and one of the churches of Gloucester; but the most remarkable is the one known as the "Durham knocker" on the north door of the nave of the cathedral, which is at least as early as the time of Bishop Galfrid Rufus, in the former half of the twelfth century. There was also one on a farm building in Essex, which was called after it "Brazen-head farm," no doubt originally belonging to some ecclesiastical building in its neighbourhood, which has now been removed to the British Museum.

Some of the examples of English work which have survived have been preserved in a marvellous manner, as was the beautiful bronze ewer of the time of Richard II., which was found at

Kumasi by the British Ashanti expedition in 1896; the lecterns of Norwich Cathedral and S. Stephen's, S. Albans, were dug up from beneath the church floors, and that of Southwell Minster fished out of the abbey pond at Newstead. Perhaps the most remarkable adventures were those experienced by the so-called Gloucester candlestick (Plate VI.); but as Professor Lethaby has expressed some doubt as to whether this is of English manufacture at all, some detailed account of this beautiful work must be given here. The Professor has suggested that on account of its likeness to the two altar candlesticks of Hildesheim, attributed to Bishop Bernward, the Gloucester candlestick is also of German workmanship; but although in the arrangement of the decoration, in the interlacing foliage with figures and animals, there is great similarity between them, the Gloucester candlestick is more massive in its proportions and the finish of its detail more exquisite. The inscriptions which it bears, the second of which appears to make its English manufacture almost certain, are these. Round the band of the trefoil-shaped sconce is engraved, LVCIS : ONVS : VIRTVTIS : OPVS : DOCTRINA : REFVLGENS : PREDICAT : VT : VICIO : NON : TENEBRETVR : HOMO, which may be taken as explanatory of the ornament which shows round the knop, the evangelistic symbols and the mingled confusion of men and beasts round the shaft. Up the entwining riband of the stem is inscribed, ABBATIS : PETRI : GREGIS : ET : DEVOTIO : MITIS : ME : DEDIT : ECCLESIE : SCI : PETRI : GLOCESTRE. The Abbot Peter mentioned in this inscription was at the head of the convent from 1109 to 1112, and the character of the work fits in with this date. At the Dissolution the candlestick passed over to France, and was presented to the Cathedral of Le Mans by Thomas de Poché, as this inscription within the sconce testifies, ✠ HOC CENOMANENSIS RES ECCLESIE POCIENCIS : THOMAS DITAVIT CVM SOLANNVM. The candlestick again had a narrow escape at the French Revolution and passed into private

hands, but was eventually purchased and returned to England, and is now counted among the treasures of the Victoria and Albert Museum.

The once numerous shrines have all disappeared, having been generally melted down for the intrinsic value of their materials, after being despoiled of the gems with which they were studded. Of their richness and value we have full particulars, but for their form and design we are left pretty much to conjecture; the names, however, of some of the men who had a hand in their fabrication have survived, and doubtless the same men, as in other countries, who worked in the precious metals worked also in copper and bronze. At S. Albans we hear of the monk Anketill, described as an *aurifaber incomparabilis*, who, with his pupil Solomon of Ely made the great silver-gilt shrine for the proto-martyr; and another monk of S. Albans, one Walter de Colchester, who was clever at figure work, as his statue of the Virgin and his repoussé altar fontals are particularly commended. So famous were English artists in this class of work that we find mentioned in the next century another Walter de Colchester and one Hugh de S. Albans who had made three great images of the Blessed Virgin and SS. Peter and Paul, and a smaller one of the Holy Trinity, which Richard II. permitted, by licence granted in 1382, Cosmo Gentiles, the Pope's collector in England, to export without paying duty or custom for them.

Such being the case, we can scarcely wonder at the excellence shown in the earliest bronze sculpture which occurs among the royal tombs in Westminster Abbey, the very first with the effigies of Henry III. and Queen Eleanor being perhaps the most estimable. They are all of English workmanship, and their perfection is set off by the comparison of them with the French effigy of William of Valence which is almost compelled by its close proximity. The tombs of Henry III. and of William of Valence are nearly contemporary, and the superior

PLATE VI

THE GLOUCESTER CANDLESTICK

beauty of the English example is due in part to its being, like the other English royal effigies, made by the *cire perdue* process, whilst the Limoges effigy is formed of plates of metal beaten on to a wooden core—a method which undoubtedly tends to coarsen the outlines. There is abundant proof that the *cire perdue* method was adopted in this case, as a record is preserved of the delivery to the founder of the wax required for the moulds.

The following is the order in which these royal effigies were made. The first were those of Henry III. and Queen Eleanor of Castile, and we know that Master William Torel, a London goldsmith, had them in hand in 1391 ; and although it has been asserted that he was really a Florentine whose true name was Torelli, abundant evidence has been adduced to prove his English extraction, for which no surprise need be felt. The effigy of Edward III. comes next in order, and as we find that in 1377, the year of his death, John Orchard, a "latoner," was then making the little figures for the now empty niches of Queen Philippa's tomb, he was probably the artist who made the King's effigy. In 1394 a mould was made for the figures of Richard II. and Queen Anne of Bohemia, a contract was entered into for the two gilt images with Godfrey and Nicholas Broker, citizens and coppersmiths of London.

These are the last of the series of bronze effigies remaining at Westminster, except those of the Tudor period; but at Canterbury is the most beautiful effigy of Edward the Black Prince (Figs. 22, 23 and 24) which has frequently been regarded as Limousin work, on account, in part, of the enamels which appear on the coronet and sword-belt, but which is more likely to be the work of the John Orchard who made that of his father, Edward III.

At Warwick was erected a very beautiful monument to Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, of which we have very complete accounts remaining. The work was executed between

the years 1442 and 1465, and those engaged on the metal work were Thomas Stevyns, coppersmith, who made the slab; William Austen, founder, of London, who cast, worked, and made of the finest "latten" the statue of the knight and the "weepers" round the tomb; while Bartholomew Lambespring, described as a Dutchman, but at the same time a goldsmith of London, did the gilding.

Bronze work, which had doubtless languished during the Wars of the Roses, but of which many capable workers were

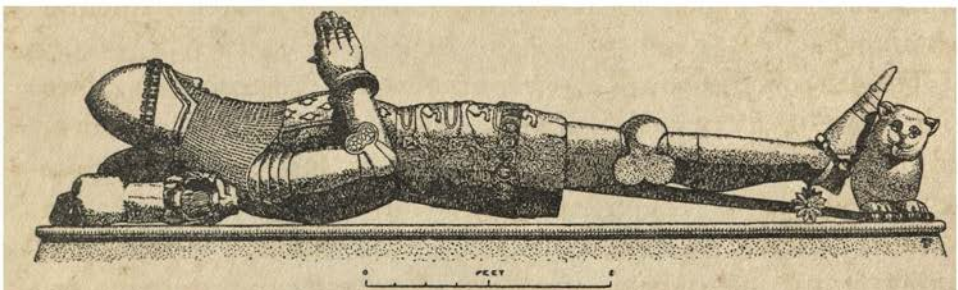

FIG. 22.—EFFIGY OF THE BLACK PRINCE, CANTERBURY

FIG. 23.—CORONET FROM THE EFFIGY OF THE BLACK PRINCE

FIG. 24.—BELT FROM THE EFFIGY OF THE BLACK PRINCE

still procurable, received a fresh impetus from the building by Henry VII. of his family tomb-house at Westminster. Not only did he erect one of the most beautiful chapels ever built for such a purpose, but he made every arrangement for his tomb short of the effigies to be laid upon it. The tomb itself, which seems to have been completed before his death, was never erected, as a fresh one, designed by Torregiano, by his son's orders, took its place; but the brass surrounding grill, which the King refers to in his Will as of "coper and gilt,"

still remains, except that most of the little figures in the niches, which the late William Burges said were cast from wooden models, have disappeared. The doors which form the entrance to the chapel were the first and last attempts ever made in this country at metal doors, so common in Italy and Germany, and are in their way very beautiful specimens of this class of work; but they lack the solidity of the continental examples, as the plates of brass which compose them are affixed to a skeleton framework of wood, the joints being covered with raised ornaments, and the panels formed of an open work of ornamental cast bronze.

The list of the royal bronze effigies at Westminster closes with those of Henry VII. and his Queen, Elizabeth of York, and of his mother Margaret, Countess of Richmond. These are the works of the Florentine sculptor Torregiano, who executed them for Henry VIII.; and though the actual castings must have been made in England, and perhaps by English founders, the character and execution are Italian, and the style belongs distinctly to the Renaissance period.

CHAPTER XI

ITALY AND SPAIN

THE mediæval metal work of Italy, except for the remarkable series of bronze doors, is almost confined to the precious metals, and it is not until the dawn of the Renaissance that bronze work comes into vogue. The great candlestick of Milan and the lecterns of Venice are German in their suggestion, and may be of German workmanship ; and we know that foreign craftsmen were very much engaged in Italy, as in the case of the Fleming, known as Giovanni da Bologna, who worked on the reliquary of the Holy Cross in Padua Cathedral, and made the reliquary of the Coat, preserved in the treasury of S. Antonio, which he signed, ✠ HOC OPVS FECIT M. B'TOLAMES BOLNIE.

The bronze doors of Italy, which we shall describe more in detail later on, divide themselves into three classes. The first embraces the earlier doors, which are to a great extent due to German or other foreign influence, such as those of S. Zeno at Verona, and perhaps the doors of Pisa and Monreale. The second includes the remarkable series of doors made in Constantinople for the Pantaleone family of Amalfi, and presented by them to churches in the cities with which they were connected, and these include those of Amalfi, Atrani, Monte Cassino, and Monte Gargano, and besides these were the doors in S. Mark's, Venice, and S. Paul beyond the walls in Rome, also made at Constantinople. The third series embraces those doors made by native artists in South Italy, subsequent

to the importations of the Pantaleone family, and include the doors of Troja, Trani, Ravello and Benevento. The celebrated bronze doors of the Baptistery of Florence are by well-known Italian sculptors, and the earliest of these, depicting scenes from the life of S. John Baptist, were made by Andrea Pisano in 1330, and so fall well within the mediæval period; while those by Ghiberti, a hundred years later in date, are already tinged in their details by the influence of the incoming Renaissance.

Riaño, in his *Industrial Arts in Spain*, says that the history of bronze work in that country practically begins with the sixteenth century, and that whatever there is of earlier date is probably of foreign workmanship. The gilt bronze altars decorated with enamels, still to be found in San Esteban at Salamanca and San Miguel de Excelsis in Navarre, as well as the statue of the Virgin de la Vega in San Esteban, all appear to be of Limoges manufacture; and the little else there is in the country of the mediæval period seems either to have been Moorish work or made under direct Moorish influence.

In this latter category may be placed the bronze doors of Toledo, Cordova and Seville. Those to the Cathedral of Toledo are formed of bronze plates laid over a wooden framework, the plates being decorated with geometrical Moorish designs and with Arabic and Spanish inscriptions, one of which fixes the date of the completion of the doors as in March 1337. The doors of the Cathedral of Cordova are similar in character with Gothic and Arabic inscriptions intermixed with the arms of Castile and Leon; the date of 1377 is given for their completion, but they were considerably restored in 1539. With these doors may be mentioned the Puerta del Perdon of the Cathedral of Seville as a good example of moresque bronze work.

A few ancient bells remain bearing inscriptions which fix their dates; one in the museum of Cordova is as early as 875, one at the Cathedral of Valencia of 1306, and another at Lerida of 1418; and having regard to the troubles of war and revolution which Spain has undergone, we may perhaps be surprised that there are even these.

PART III

DESCRIPTIVE

CHAP. PAGE
XII. PRELIMINARY 99
XIII. PORTABLE ALTARS 102
XIV. PYXES, CIBORIA AND MONSTRANCES . . . 106
XV. SHRINES 110
XVI. RELIQUARIES 117
XVII. CROSSES 123
XVIII. CENSERS 128
XIX. CANDLESTICKS AND LIGHT-HOLDERS . . . 134
XX. CROSIERS 147
XXI. HOLY WATER VATS 151
XXII. LECTERNS 156
XXIII. BOOK-COVERS 164
XXIV. FONTS 166
XXV. EWERS AND WATER VESSELS 176
XXVI. BRONZE DOORS 180
XXVII. SANCTUARY RINGS OR KNOCKERS 198
XXVIII. BELLS 204
XXIX. TOMBS 209
XXX. MONUMENTS 216

CHAPTER XII

PRELIMINARY

In the following chapters a description is given of the various utensils commonly made in copper, brass and bronze under their respective headings; but there are some objects not easily classed, either because they are usually made in other materials and their manufacture from the baser metals is exceptional, or on account of their rarity or comparative unimportance; and with these latter we will deal at once. The subjects are too few to require an alphabetical arrangement, and they have therefore been placed in the order of their connection with the services of the Church.

Railings of any sort were comparatively rare in the Middle Ages, although we have the beautiful iron work round the tombs of the Scaligers at Verona, and in the later period the wonderful plateresque iron rejas of the Spanish cathedrals, and the brass railings of the Netherlands; so that the bronze screens of Charlemagne's church and period at Aix-la-Chapelle are probably unique, although at the time of their setting up there may have been similar railings at Ravenna. This bronze work, of which we give a sketch (Fig. 25), runs all round the open triforium, and, except where a space has been made to admit the marble throne, appears to have been undisturbed since it was first placed there. The designs vary in every bay, and the whole of the work is most beautifully finished.

Paxes, which did not come into general use before the thirteenth century, were at first made in wood and later in

the precious metals, with highly enriched decorations and enamels; but during the period of transition were very occasionally made in enamelled bronze. There is one in the Hotel Cluny, perhaps of twelfth-century manufacture, of copper gilt, having on it an enamelled figure of our Lord under a canopy,

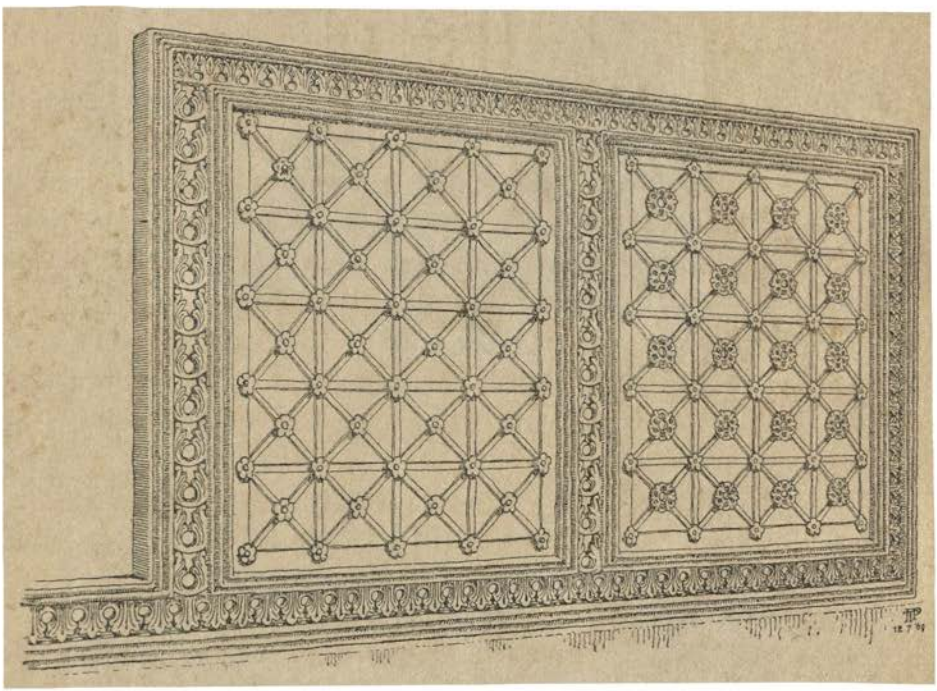

FIG. 25.—BRONZE RAILINGS, AIX-LA-CHAPELLE

having His right hand raised and His left hand holding a book.

Hand-warmers, which were twin hemispheres of metal made to contain live charcoal, were used by the priests during the services to warm their chilled hands. They are to be found mentioned in church inventories under the descriptive name of *pomme de cuivre*, and when made in bronze they were frequently gilt and richly ornamented with open work in foliage

PLATE VII

BRONZE MORTARS, IN THE V. AND A. MUSEUM

and scrolls. An example of one of these may be seen in the British Museum.

Bronze mortars used for domestic purposes and in the conventual kitchens were often, towards the close of the mediæval period, highly ornamented and stamped with inscriptions after the manner of the bells. We give two examples of these from the Victoria and Albert Museum (Plate VII.)

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CHAPTER XIII

PORTABLE ALTARS

One curious ecclesiastical appliance in vogue in the earlier Middle Ages, which at a later period fell into desuetude, was the portable altar; and of these some are still preserved in church treasuries, particularly in Germany, and may be found in private or public collections. In the missionary days of the early mediæval church, and, later on, during the Crusades, these movable altars were very much in requisition, as when they had been once consecrated they could be used for the celebration of the Mass in all places.

These portable altars existed at an early date in this country, as one was found in the tomb of S. Cuthbert, which he had presumably himself used, and is still preserved at Durham; while we find that they were still employed in the fifteenth century, since Pope Martin V. (1417–1431) granted the privilege of possessing one to the English merchants of the Staple at Calais. Those made during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were often of extreme richness, and they frequently enclosed in their framework precious relics. They usually consisted of a small slab of fine marble, porphyry, jasper or agate set in a wooden frame, which was covered with plates of copper, chased and gilt, and sometimes set with ivory, stones, and enamels. As some of these were of a more or less fragile character, and all very precious, they were provided with cases of wood or stamped leather to protect them while travelling both from damage and profanation.

The one published in Parker's *Glossary of Architecture*,

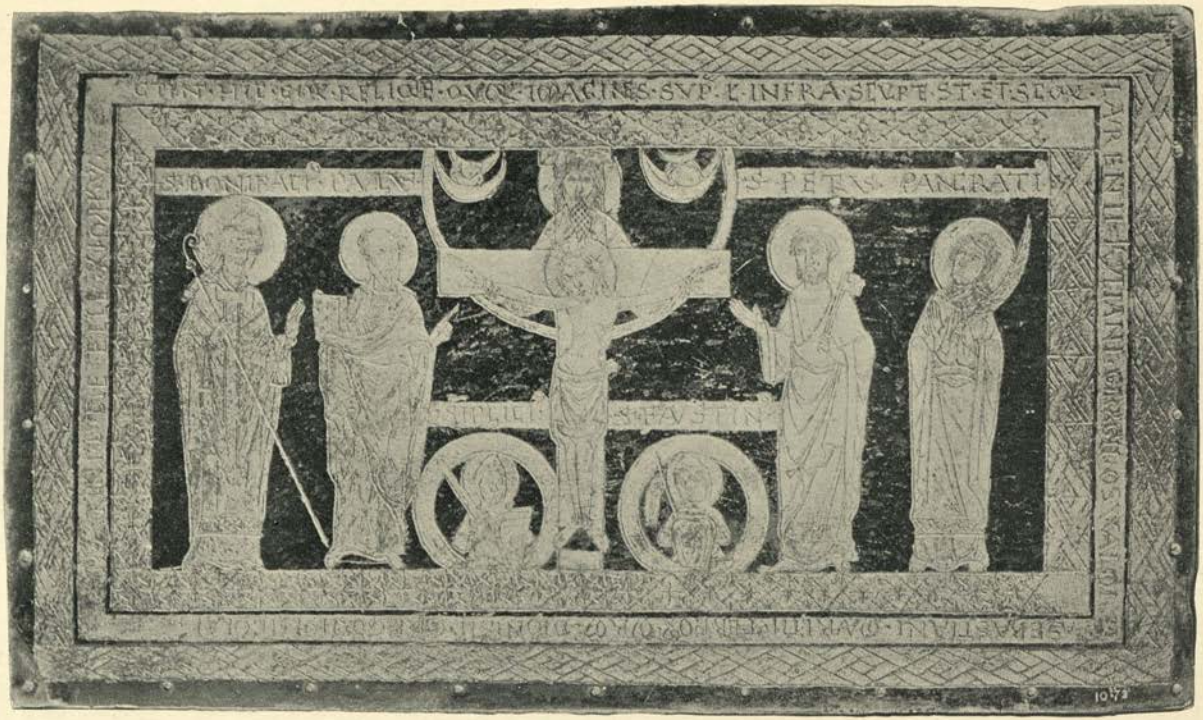


PLATE VIII

PORTABLE ALTAR, FROM HILDESHEIM

which belonged to Dr. Rock, was formed of a slab of oriental jasper, about 4½ inches by 9 inches, surrounded by a border of silver niello, having at the angles figures of kings carrying offerings, at the top an Agnus Dei, and at the bottom the Dove on the Ark.

At the Victoria and Albert Museum is a very beautiful example acquired from a late bishop of Hildesheim, and presumably, therefore, of north German manufacture (Plate VIII.). It consists of a slab of porphyry enclosed in a wooden frame, which is covered with plates of copper gilt on both sides. The one side shows in the centre the Eternal Father supporting the Son on the Cross, over whose head the Dove is seen descending, thus making the Trinity. On each side are placed two standing figures with their names engraved; to the right are SS. Peter and Paul, and to the left SS. Boniface and Pancratius, while below the Trinity are SS. Simplicius and Faustinus. All these figures are placed upon the porphyry slab, which forms a background to them, and they are enclosed by a border of gilt copper engraved with ornaments and the names of the relics included in the frame behind. The reverse of the altar shows the porphyry slab quite clear; but there is a similar gilt copper border round it divided into oblong panels and lunettes, which contain figures of the Saviour, the Archangel Michael, the Blessed Virgin, and SS. John the Evangelist, John the Baptist, Godehard, Mary Magdalen, Cecilia, Margaret, Beatrice, Stephen, Benedict, Vicentius and Vitus; while in the angles of the border are the Nativity, the Crucifixion, the Resurrection and the Ascension. The date of the work appears to be the former half of the twelfth century.

A perhaps even more beautiful portable altar, also of German fabrication, is preserved in the British Museum, of which we also give an illustration (Plate IX.). It was the

gift of an abbot named Thidericus to the Abbey of Sayn, near Coblentz, in the thirteenth century; from there it drifted into the Debruge-Duménil collection, and then, after belonging to Prince Soltykoff, to the British Museum. It consists of a slab of luminous marble measuring about $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches by $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches, held in a wooden frame $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch thick. The frame is covered with a plate of copper gilt secured to the wood with rivets, the heads of which are decorated in niello. Inserted into the frame at the top and bottom are two little pieces of ivory carved in relief, the upper one as a Crucifixion, with SS. Mary and John, and the lower one the Virgin seated with the Infant between two bishops, beneath which is inscribed, THIDERICVS . ABBAS . III . DEDIT. In the centre of each side is a miniature of a bishop, painted on vellum, protected by a raised piece of crystal set in a copper frame; and in the four angles, within circles, are engraved the evangelistic symbols, while in the spaces between these and the crystals are engraved, on the left, SS. Peter and Stephen, and on the right, SS. Andrew and Laurence, with their names above them. The edge of the frame is covered with copper gilt engraved with a running ornament, and the whole of the back is similarly covered, and on it a long inscription giving a catalogue of the various relics it contains. It may be mentioned that, although the Abbey of Sayn has been long suppressed, the church still retains some of its treasures, and among them a gilt metal reliquary containing an arm of S. Simon.

At Namur, in the convent of Notre Dame, is preserved a portable altar, the work of Brother Hugo of Oignies, adorned with niello, enamels and engravings; in the centre is the Crucifixion, with the Blessed Virgin and S. John, round which is a beautiful border of foliage, with a legend describing the relics, and with the edges enriched in the same way with

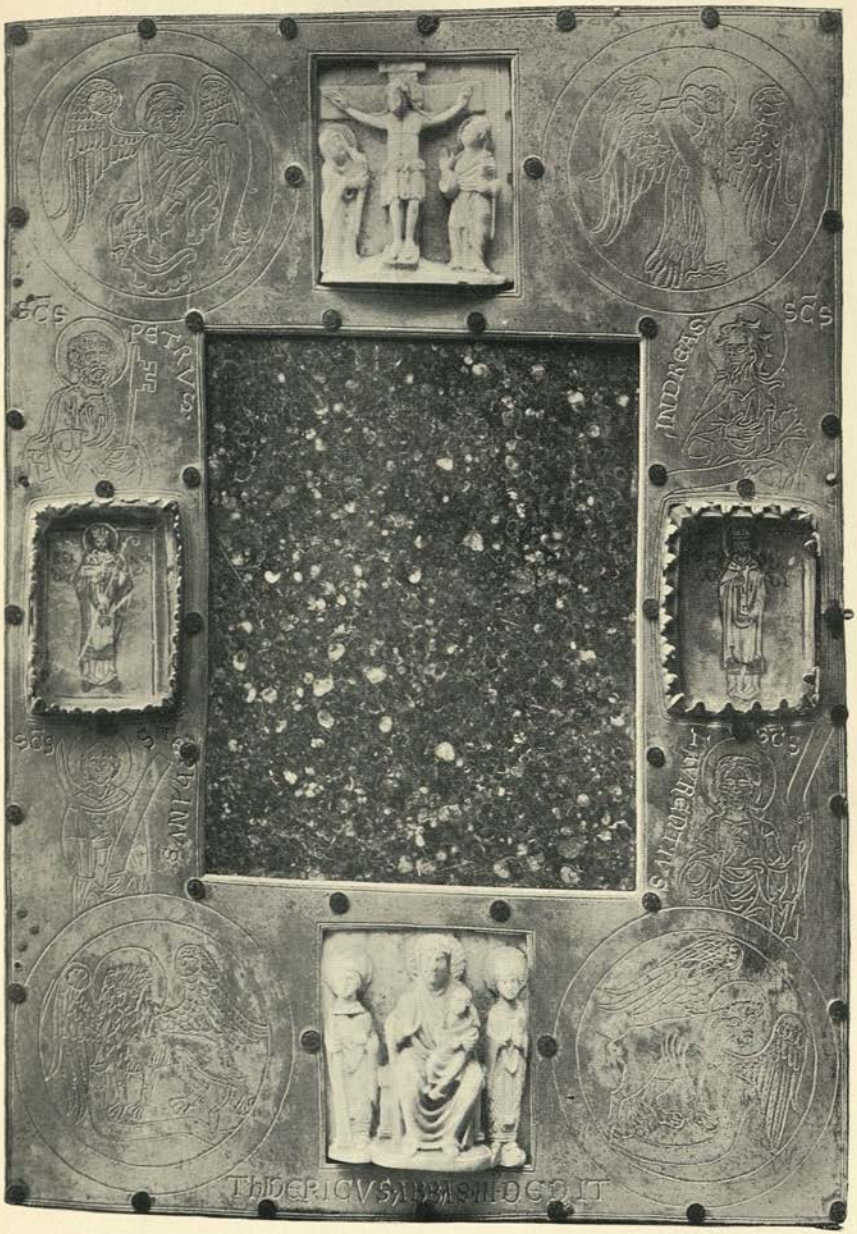


PLATE IX

PORTABLE ALTAR, FROM THE ABBEY OF SAYN

foliage. There is also an interesting one in the treasury of S. Maria im Capitol, at Cologne, of serpentine marble, set in copper gilt. At the sides are the figures of Christ in Judgment, the Blessed Virgin and Child, with Apostles and Prophets; on the top are Abel and Melchisedec, and the evangelistic symbols, with this legend, QVIDQVID IN ALTARI PVNCTATVR SPIRITVALI ILLVD IN ALTARI COMPLETVR MATERIALI. ARA CRVCIS TVMVLI CALIX LAPIDIS PATENA SINDONIS OFFICIVM CANDIDA BYSSVS HABET.

Although these portable altars were generally of the form already described, there is one in the British Museum, coffer-shaped, of thirteenth-century German work; and at the Cathedral of Besançon, now let into the wall of the choir, is a disc of white marble, sculptured with various symbols, which seems to have served this purpose.

CHAPTER XIV

PYXES, CIBORIA AND MONSTRANCES

ALL these objects served the same purpose of containing the consecrated Host, but the pyxes and ciboria were closed boxes in which the Sacrament was placed on or over the altar, while the monstrances or ostensoirs were, as the name implies, made with openings, covered with glass or crystal, by which it was displayed to the faithful. The pyxes or ciboria were in common use until the fifteenth century, when they were gradually superseded by the monstrances.

The pyxes or custodes, as they were sometimes called, were little cylindrical boxes, generally of gilt or enamelled metal, having a conical-shaped lid with hinge and fastening, and terminating in a knob or ball, so that it was possible thereby to suspend them over the altar; and when they were so suspended they were generally surrounded by a curtain, which could be easily opened or closed as occasion required. An enormous number of these little objects were made during the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and, although they fell into desuetude, are still frequently to be met with in the church treasuries of France and Germany and local museums. Their shape and size scarcely ever varied, but the design of the enamels with which they were decorated was always different. We give a sketch here of one preserved in the treasury of Sens Cathedral (Fig. 26), decorated in champlevé enamel, which will sufficiently show the appearance of these simple objects.

Another kind of box to contain the consecrated Host when

PLATE X

CIBORIUM, IN THE V. AND A. MUSEUM

thus suspended was in the form of a dove, placed on a plate, to which the three suspending chains were attached, the opening of access being between the wings on the back. One of these doves may be seen at the Victoria and Albert Museum;

FIG. 26.—PYX, SENS CATHEDRAL

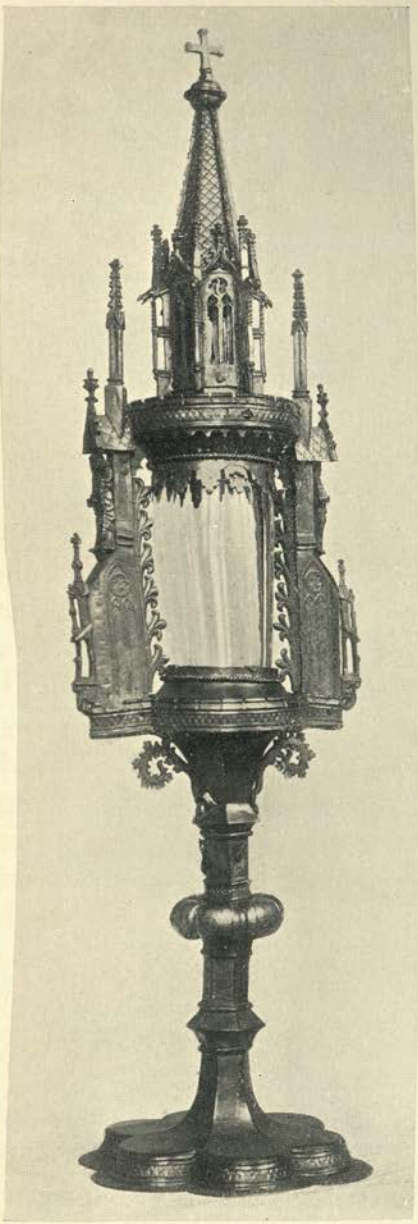
but they were never so numerous as the smaller pyxes, and are not so frequently to be seen in collections.

The ciboria differed from these two kinds of boxes in that they were made to stand on the altar, and were therefore provided with a foot, and the earlier ones were treated architecturally in the form of a tower. There is a fine and early example of one such preserved in the Church of Notre Dame at S. Omer, which is assumed to be of the date of 1180. It

is of copper gilt and of a circular shape, the base spreading out like the foot of a candlestick and ornamented with engraved foliage. Above the stem a tower rises in two stages; the lower one, forming the receptacle, has two tiers of round-arched arcading separated by a band of filigree interspersed with stones set *en cabochon*. The lid, which is hinged above the upper tier, has another and smaller arcading storey, and the conical roof is also decorated with stones set in filigree. A somewhat similar arrangement occurs in the copper-gilt ciborium, belonging to the end of the fifteenth century, preserved in the Victoria and Albert Museum, of which we give an illustration (Plate X.).

At a later date the architectural form of the ciboria was abandoned and succeeded by one more in the shape of the spherical censers. Of these there is a beautiful example in enamelled copper preserved in the Louvre, which is known, from the name of its maker, as the Ciborium of Alpais. It consists of two bulbous-shaped cups, the upper one forming the cover and the lower one the receptacle, which is furnished with a conical-shaped foot, decorated with figures in interlacing foliage. The cup and cover are divided by bands into lozenge-shaped spaces, the intersection of the bands being set with stones *en cabochon*, and the spaces containing half-figures in high relief. The knob which forms the top of the lid has round it four half-length figures of angels; and on the base of the cup is the inscription, MAGISTER: G: ALPAIS: ME: FECIT: LEMOVICARVM.

Monstrances seem first to have been legalised at a provincial council held in 1452 at Cologne, although no decree was issued relating to their form; and the result was that at first they were made of very various designs, and it was not until the close of the sixteenth century that they assumed the shape of a sun with a crystal centre, which has since become



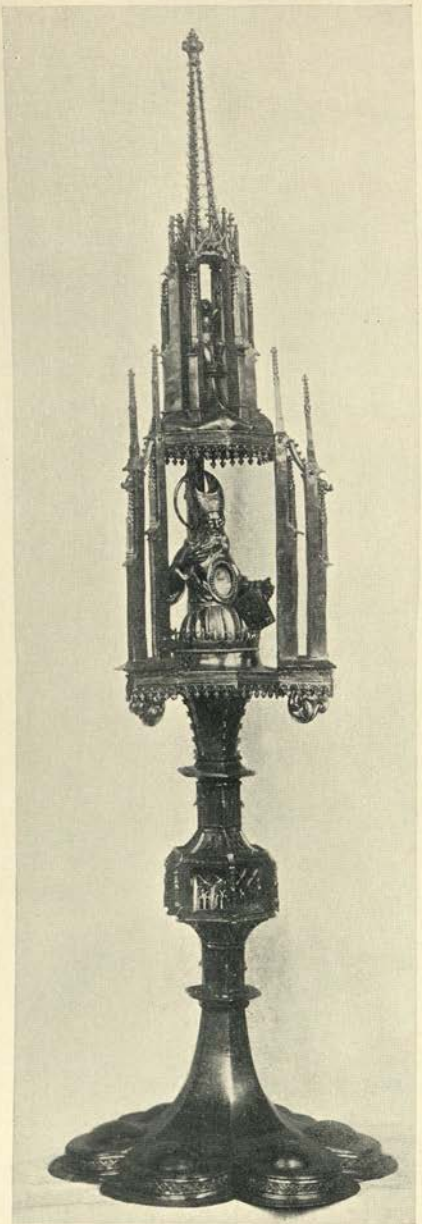


PLATE XI

MONSTRANCES, IN THE V. AND A. MUSEUM

customary. Before that date, however, the custom of making them in precious metals had been introduced, and their manufacture in gilt copper or enamelled bronze gradually ceased. There are two, however, of fifteenth-century work preserved in the Hotel Cluny, both of an architectural character: one of gilt bronze, which came from the Jesuit College at Fribourg, is circular, surmounted by a turret pierced with six windows and flanked with buttresses and pinnacles, and the whole is decorated in enamel; the other monstrance of copper gilt, from the Church of S. Martin at Nuits, has in the lower part the statues of the Virgin and S. Catherine on each side, with the words GRACIA MARIA round the bottom, and is crowned with a tower and slender spire.

There is a very fine one of German manufacture, dated 1471, in the Victoria and Albert Museum, which we illustrate (Plate XI.). It is of copper gilt, standing on a wide-spreading, six-lobed base. The upper part consists of niches, buttresses, and crocketed canopies surmounted by a tall and slender spire, all of an architectural character. The half-length figure of S. Zacharias is in silver; and round the foot is inscribed in Gothic characters, *dns iodocus hafner ptbus*, 1471.

CHAPTER XV

SHRINES

THE custom of placing the remains of saints in chests which could be easily moved about seems to have been due, to a great extent, to the raids of those northern barbarians who during the ninth and tenth centuries so ruthlessly destroyed the churches and all they contained wherever their devastations spread. As the monks regarded these relics as among their most precious possessions, they carried them away with them whenever they themselves had the opportunity of escape; and the story of the wanderings of many of these sacred coffers shows how confusion arose in reference to their identity, and doubt as to where the true relics eventually rested. When in the more settled times of the eleventh century the churches and monasteries were rebuilt, an abiding place for the relics was found, and the old chests in which they had wandered about were gradually superseded by elaborate caskets of metal; but they were even then made of a more or less movable character, so as to be carried round or outside the church on special occasions. So usual, in France at least, was this appearance of relics in the streets, that in the thirteenth century certain corporations of laymen obtained the special privilege of bearing the coffers in processions on great holidays; the goldsmiths of Paris having the special right of bearing thus the remains of S. Geneviève. And to this day in Bruges processions of all the local saints in their shrines are by no means uncommon.

In England this never became customary, and the coffers were generally raised on lofty and permanent structures, such as

may still be seen at Westminster and S. Albans, in the former case but little disturbed since its erection, and in the latter restored from the ruins found on the site. The shrines of S. Cuthbert at Durham and S. Thomas at Canterbury were also of the same character; that of the latter being formed with a marble arcading, on which rested the casket of wood, which was riveted with plates of gold embossed and covered with filigree and jewels, and protected by a wooden covering suspended over it, which could be raised or lowered at pleasure.

All the great English shrines were destroyed at the Dissolution, the coffers despoiled of their gold and jewels, but the remains they contained were in nearly all cases reverently buried beneath or near the site of the shrine. In France the destruction was in most places more severe, but being unsystematically carried out was not so far reaching as in England; at the same time, as there were four distinct epochs of havoc, it is surprising that so many fine examples should have escaped. During the Hundred Years' War, though many of the coffers were sacrificed, the relics were respected, but wherever the Huguenot troubles reached, coffers and contents were alike destroyed. Again, many of the richest of the caskets in the seventeenth century went to the mint to pay for Louis the Great's wars, or were melted into new forms to suit the new fashions; but in the Revolution everything of the sort that was not successfully hidden utterly perished.

It is therefore no wonder that we have to seek for the best examples of these coffers in the museums; and in the Hotel Cluny we find two which had belonged to the Church of Ségry, near Issoudun, in the department of Indre, which that church had managed to retain until 1858. They both contain portions of S. Fausta and are of twelfth-century workmanship. One, which measures 20½ inches in length by 7 inches in width and is 17 inches high, is of copper engraved, repoussé, gilt and

enamelled *en taille d'épargne*. On the upper part of the front is the figure of the Saviour in relief, with His right hand raised in benediction, and the left holding the Book of Life. The head has a cruciform nimbus, and the whole figure is surrounded with a *vesica piscis*, having angels in the corners holding the evangelistic symbols. Below, along the face of the coffer, is Christ on the Cross between the Virgin and S. John, and below the arms of the cross are the sun and moon. On each side of this central subject are ranged the Apostles, nimbed, under an arcade of round arches, all the figures being in high relief and the eyes enamelled. The reverse of the casket bears a representation of the martyrdom of S. Fausta with the legend HOC EST MARTIRIVM BEATE FAVSTE; and various scenes in twenty-three subjects are engraved on a background of enamel. The ends of the casket bear S. Peter with the Keys, and S. John with the Book of the Gospel, all engraved on an enamelled background; and the top is surmounted with an open-work cresting decorated with crystals set *en cabochon*.

The other coffer, which is 18 inches long and 14 inches high, is also of copper and decorated like the last, but it appears to have been executed some few years earlier. The upper part of the front bears five figures of gilt bronze in high relief on a background of blue enamel, with engraved foliage and flowers enamelled in colours. The figures comprise the saint on her knees by the executioner, the consul who ordered the martyrdom, and SS. Mary and John below. On the back of the casket are six large medallions, each containing an angel with outspread wings on a red enamelled background, the copper round each being gilt and repoussé; and the two ends of the casket have each a saint engraved on an enamelled background.

There is also another very fine example of twelfth-century work in copper, engraved and enamelled, in the Hotel Cluny, but whence it was derived seems unknown. It is 19½ inches long,

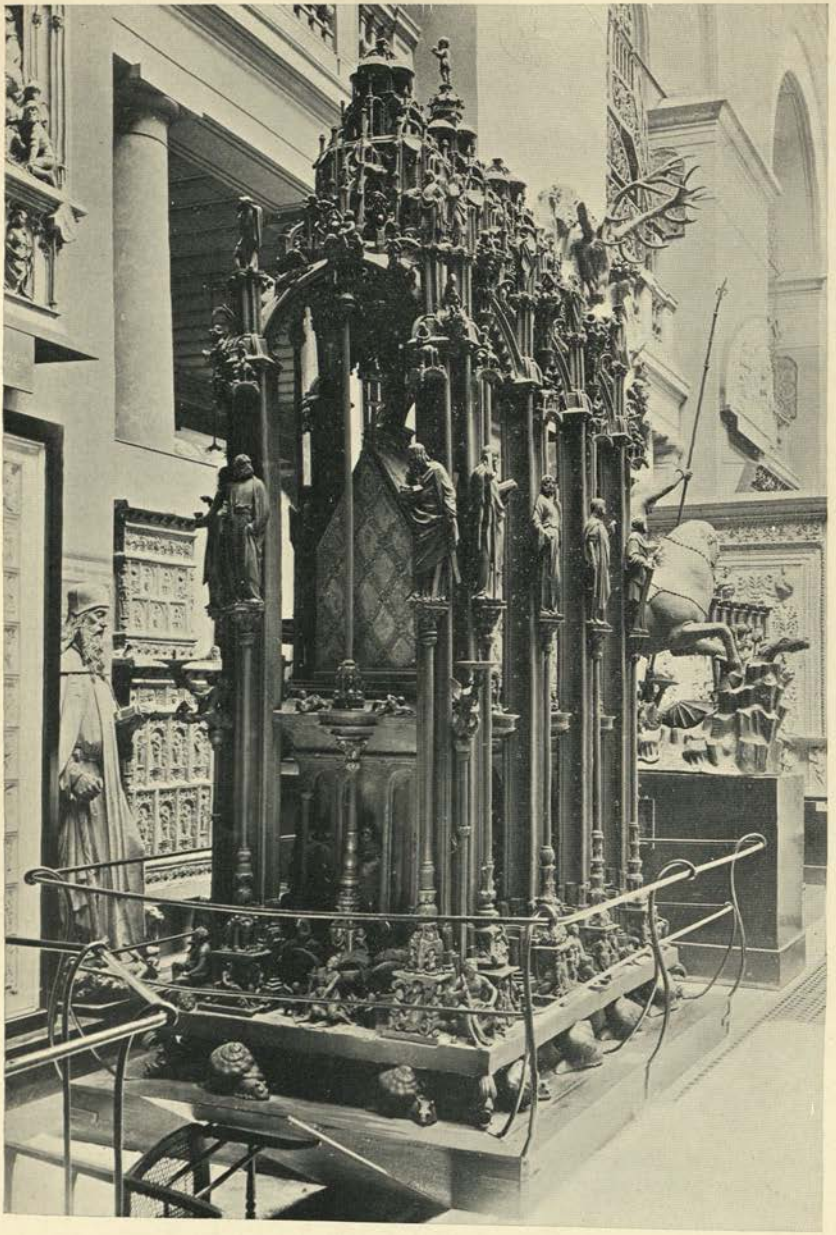


PLATE XII

THE SHRINE OF S. SEBALD

and nearly 12 inches high, and is decorated with subjects relating to Christ which are engraved upon the copper, with the heads sculptured in high relief and the background enamelled.

In France, however, there are still a few of these coffers remaining in the churches to which they belonged before the Revolution, belonging to the early part of the thirteenth century. The best known of these is in the Church of S. Taurin at Evreux, and is formed in imitation of a contemporary church, with transepts, buttresses and spire, and is decorated in blue, red, yellow, green and white enamels. A second one is to be found in the Church of S. Jule at Jouarre, which has an arcade of six trefoiled arches on each side, once filled with figures which have been stolen, but their names are engraved beneath the spaces; and on the cover are six scenes in relief from the life of S. Jule. One of these shows an abbess on her knees, no doubt the donor, offering the casket to the saint with this legend: EVSTOCHIA . ABBATISSA . SECVNDA . OFFERT . CAPSAM. ISTAM . SANCTAE . IVLIAE . VIRGINI.

Another of these coffers is to be found at Coudray S. Germer, Oise, and is formed of wood covered with plates, and measures 32 inches in length, 14 inches in width, and 25 inches in height. The sides have an arcading of four trefoiled arches, but the figures they now contain are seventeenth-century reproductions.

In the Cathedral of S. Servais at Maestricht still stands the shrine of that saint, made of copper gilt in the early part of the thirteenth century to replace an older one which was given in 732 by Charles Martel, in accordance with a vow made by him previous to his victory over the Saracens on the plains of Tours, which he gained on the saints' festival. It measures 5 feet 9 inches in length, 1 foot 9 inches in width, and stands 2 feet 4 inches in height. At one end is our Lord seated on a throne,

holding in His right hand a globe, and in His left a book with this inscription: ECCE VENIO CITO MERCES MECVM. On either side are the seven-branched candlesticks, and at His feet are waves with BENEDICTVS QVI AMBVLAS SVPER VNDAS MARIS, and on the chamfer SIC SPERABIS HOMO TIBI IVSTICIAM FACIENDAM IVSTAM IVSTVS EGO MERCEDEM TIBI REPENDAM. At the other end is the figure of S. Servais standing between two angels, one of whom holds his staff and the other a book with the legend, INDVE IMMORTALITATEM, and on the chamfer is inscribed BEATVS SERVATIVS IVSSVS AB OCTAVIA TRANSIRE SEPVLTVS IN ISTA PRESVL BASILICA MODO CAPSA CLAVDOR ET ARA. Each of the sides is divided into three compartments with two arches in each, beneath which are the figures of the Twelve Apostles seated and holding scrolls relating to the Last Judgment, and beneath them is this inscription, VOS QVI SECVTI ESTIS ME SEDEBITIS SVPER SEDES XII IVDICANTES DVODECIM TRIBVS ISRAEL IN REGENERATIONE CVM SEDERIT FILIVS HOMINIS IN SEDE MAIESTATIS SVE. On the top of the roof are the words addressed by Christ to the blessed, VENITE BENEDICTI PATRIS MEI PERCIPITE PARATVM VOBIS REGNVM A CONSTITVTIONE MVNDI ESVRIVI ET DEDISTIS MICHI MANDVCARE, &c.; in six medallions are represented three groups of the just, and three of the damned, holding scrolls with answers to our Lord, DOMINE QVANDO TE VIDIMVS ESVRIENTEM ET PAVIMVS TE, &c.; beneath is the reply, AMEN DICO VOBIS QVANDIV FECISTIS VNI DE HIS FRATRIBVS MEIS MINIMIS ME FECISTIS; between the medallions are the just rising and receiving garments from two angels and crowns from a winged figure of Mercy, a figure of Justice with a balance, and two angels driving away the damned; and at the extremities are four angels blowing trumpets. The whole of the shrine is gilt and adorned with filigree work, enamels and precious stones, and the top of the roof has a foliated cresting of metal with large crystals, and is terminated at each end by a pine-apple.

PLATE XIII

FIGURE OF THADDEUS, FROM THE SHRINE OF S. SEBALD

The great shrine of S. Sebald in the Sebaldskirche at Nuremberg is different to all those already described, as it embraces in itself not only the coffer which contains the remains of the saint, but the substructure and canopy, as at Canterbury, all in metal (Plates XII. and XIII.). It was entirely the work of Peter Vischer and his five sons, and seems to a great extent to have been carried out without fee or reward. A robbery from the church in 1500 of some other valuable relics made the people alarmed for the safety of those of their patron saint, and what we should call "a committee of gentlemen," which included the to this day well-known names of Anton Tucher, Peter Imhof and Lazarus Holzschuher, guaranteed a sufficient sum of money to pay for the materials required. With this promise Vischer commenced his work in 1507; and though at times he was stopped for want of money to buy the necessary metal, in 1516 the last casting was executed, and the shrine set up in the church.

It consists of a basement or pedestal on which immediately rests the coffer containing the relics, and outside this rise eight piers which together support a canopied roof in three bays crowned with open-work spires. The eight piers rest on the backs of snails, the angles having besides dolphins, and over them figures of Hercules, Perseus, Samson and Nimrod, as typical of strength, and above them again figures of Justice, Temperance, Wisdom and Spiritual Power. On the pedestal, in a niche facing the altar, is the figure of Peter Vischer himself in his working dress and leather apron, and the date of 1508; and at the corresponding end is a figure of S. Sebald. On the faces of the eight piers, two to each of the angle piers, are slender shafts of somewhat Renaissance detail carrying the figures of the Twelve Disciples, and above them again in the tracery of the pinnacles twelve smaller figures of the Fathers of the Church. The sides of the pedestal are covered with

bas-reliefs; those on the north side represent the miracles of S. Sebald on his return from Italy to Germany, and those on the south his conversion of stone into bread. Though the shrine is not free in its details from signs of Renaissance influence, it is still perfectly Gothic in its conception, and as such it worthily closes the list of those objects which formed one of the most beautiful branches of mediæval metal work.

We have already stated that we have none of these caskets containing the remains of saints left in England, but we must not omit to mention the mortuary chests placed above the screens of the presbytery of Winchester Cathedral, and set up by Bishop Fox between 1500 and 1528. There are six of these containing the remains of some of our earlier kings, including Canute and William Rufus, and some early bishops who had been buried in the original Saxon church, and whose bones had been collected when the old building was destroyed by Bishop Henry of Blois. These chests, into which the bones were eventually put, are only of painted wood with Renaissance details, but are interesting as a reminiscence of the shrines which have been destroyed.

CHAPTER XVI

RELIQUARIES

THE difference between the great caskets placed on the shrines and the smaller reliquaries is more than one of degree, since the former generally contained the whole or the greater part of the remains of the venerated one, whereas the latter enclosed mere fragments of the saint, and very often only objects to which circumstances had given a special sanctity. Unlike the shrines which occupied a position in the church more or less permanent, the reliquaries were generally preserved in store places, and only occasionally exposed on the altar or elsewhere to the sight of the faithful; and sometimes, where they were private property, they were carried about by their owner in his travels. As the objects were so diversified in shape and character, so were the reliquaries most varied in size and design, and formed an excellent opportunity for a display of the goldsmith's and metal-worker's fancy. The number of these objects made during the Middle Ages must have been almost countless, for the demand for relics, caused by the rivalry of the churches, produced an inexhaustible supply; and the trade done in them by the Jews during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was enormous.

Where the donor of a relic, or the abbey procuring one, was wealthy enough, it was enclosed in a reliquary of gold or silver gilt, and often encrusted with precious stones, and such treasuries as those of Cologne and Aix-la-Chapelle possess many such specimens of the goldsmith's art; but there was a still larger number of relics for the encasing of which copper,

brass or bronze had to suffice, and of these a quantity remain. The smallness of the reliquaries made them more easy to preserve in times of trouble, hence the great number still to be found in the churches, some of the cathedral treasuries being especially rich in them; it is calculated that at Laon alone some eighty are still preserved, and there are a great many also to be seen at Reims, Rouen, Bourges, Chartres, Troyes and Sens.

One of the most curious class of these reliquaries is that known as a "chef," as it not only contained the skull or portion of the skull of the saint, but was itself formed in the shape of a head with, presumably, some attempt at portraiture. Of this class there is an example in the British Museum of thirteenth-century work that belonged to Basle Cathedral, and contained the head of S. Eustace. As such relics as these were specially precious, they were generally enshrined in gold or silver; but there is one at Maestricht of sixteenth-century work, representing S. Servais in a cope and mitre of copper gilt. There is also a very curious one at Mons, which does not affect to be a portrait, since it is made in the form of a melon in brass gilt. It contains the head of S. Dagobert, the martyred son of Sigebert of Austrasia; and it is pierced with two circular openings, through which the skull can be seen wrapped in a veil of silk gauze.

Reliquaries were perhaps most frequently made in the form of boxes set upon legs, with a hinged cover, on which was often placed some decorative feature which might or might not refer to the contents. Of such there is a good example at the Victoria and Albert Museum, of which we give an illustration (Plate XIV.). It is of German twelfth-century work, having on the lid a Deposition from the Cross, with all the figures well modelled, and rock crystals introduced into the composition, the whole standing $17\frac{1}{2}$ inches high. There is

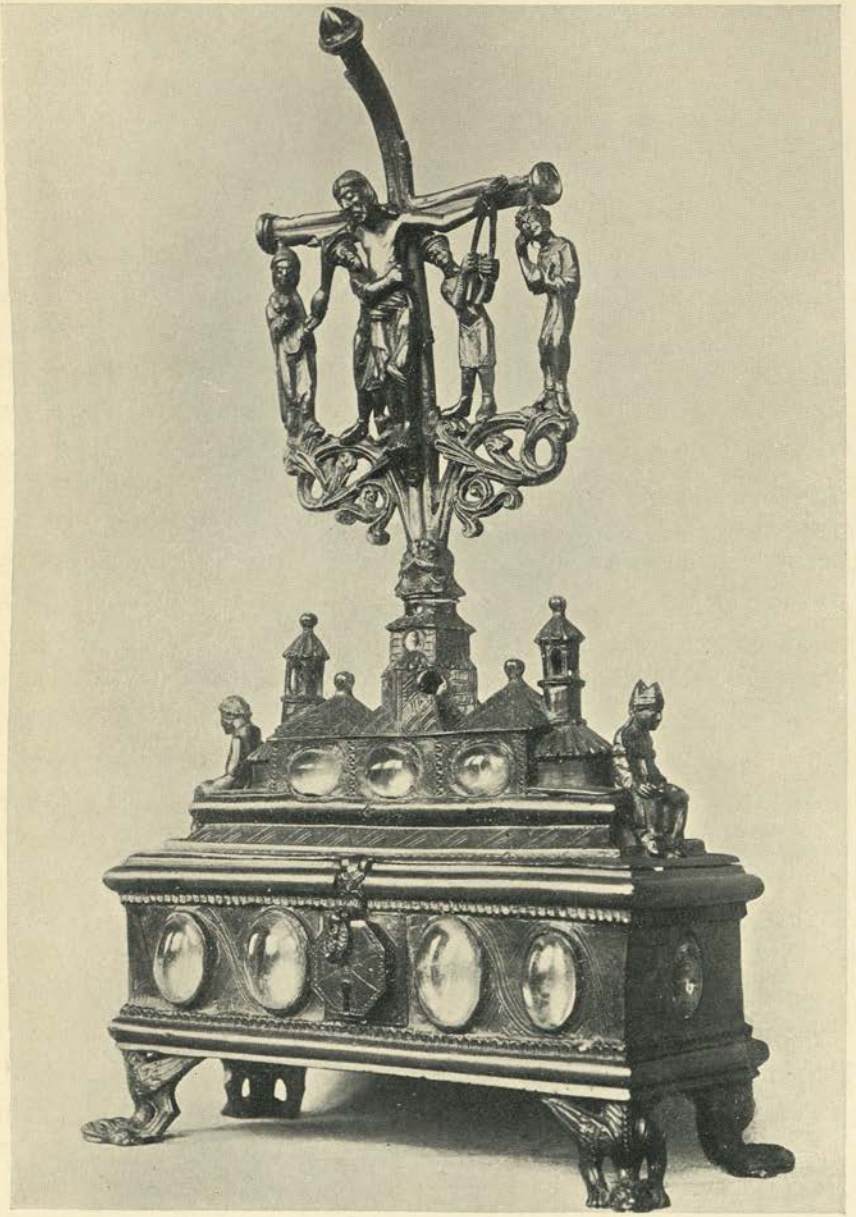


PLATE XIV

RELIQUARY, IN THE V. AND A. MUSEUM

another in the same museum of copper gilt, also German twelfth-century work, of which we give a sketch (Fig. 27). The box, which stands on claw feet, is engraved all round, and the lid has on it a three-aisled church with tower, transept and

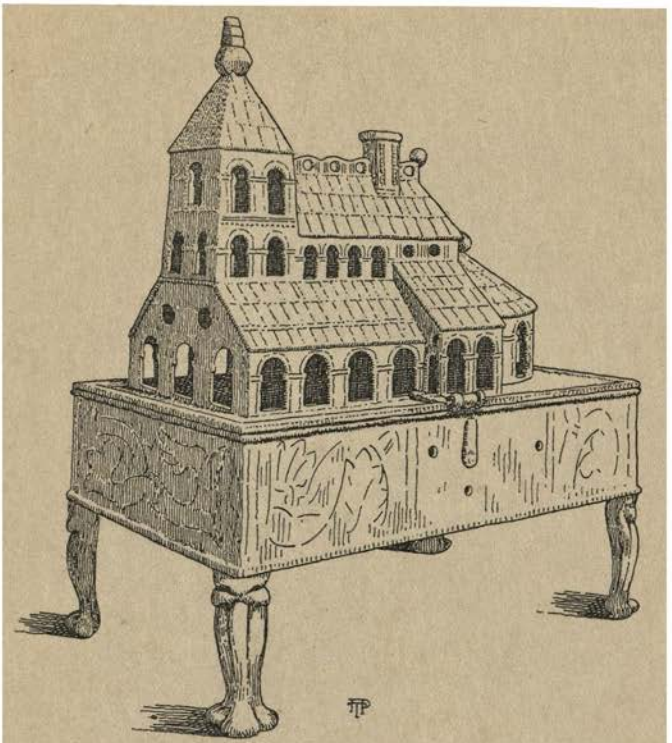


FIG. 27.—RELIQUARY, VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM

apse. This reliquary once belonged to the curious collection at Pryor's Bank, Fulham.

Often these small reliquaries assumed the form of the larger shrines, as in the fifteenth-century French example at South Kensington, which we illustrate (Plate XV.); and at times their shape is not so easily defined, as, for example, the little reliquary preserved in the treasury of Sens, of which we give a sketch (Fig. 28). In a box on a tall stem glazed

in with crystal windows is a bone of S. Etienne of Sens, and in two other little silver boxes on branches are other relics. It stands on a spreading base of gilt copper, set with three

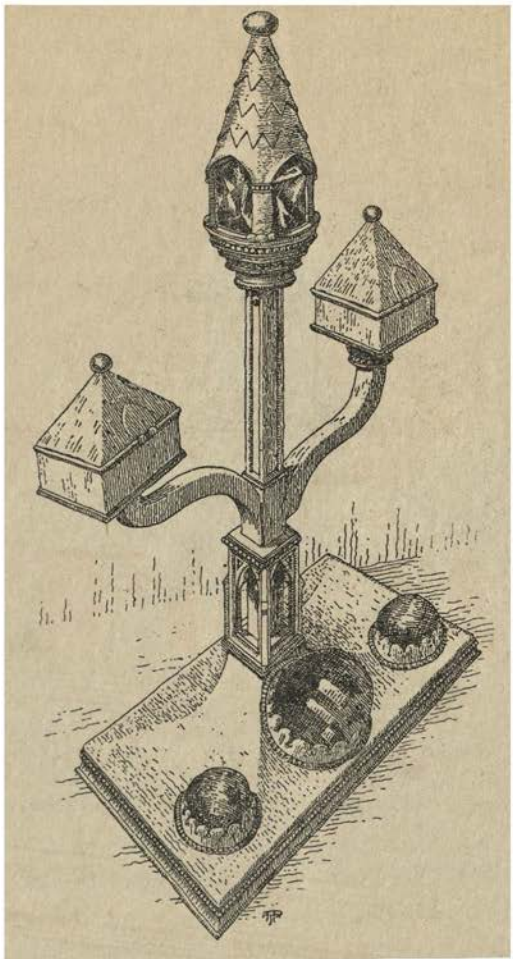


FIG. 28.—RELIQUARY, SENS

large crystals *en cabochon*, and the stem, which is also of gilt copper, stands 12 inches high.

In the treasury of Notre Dame at Tongres is a very remarkable reliquary containing a portion of the Holy Cross.

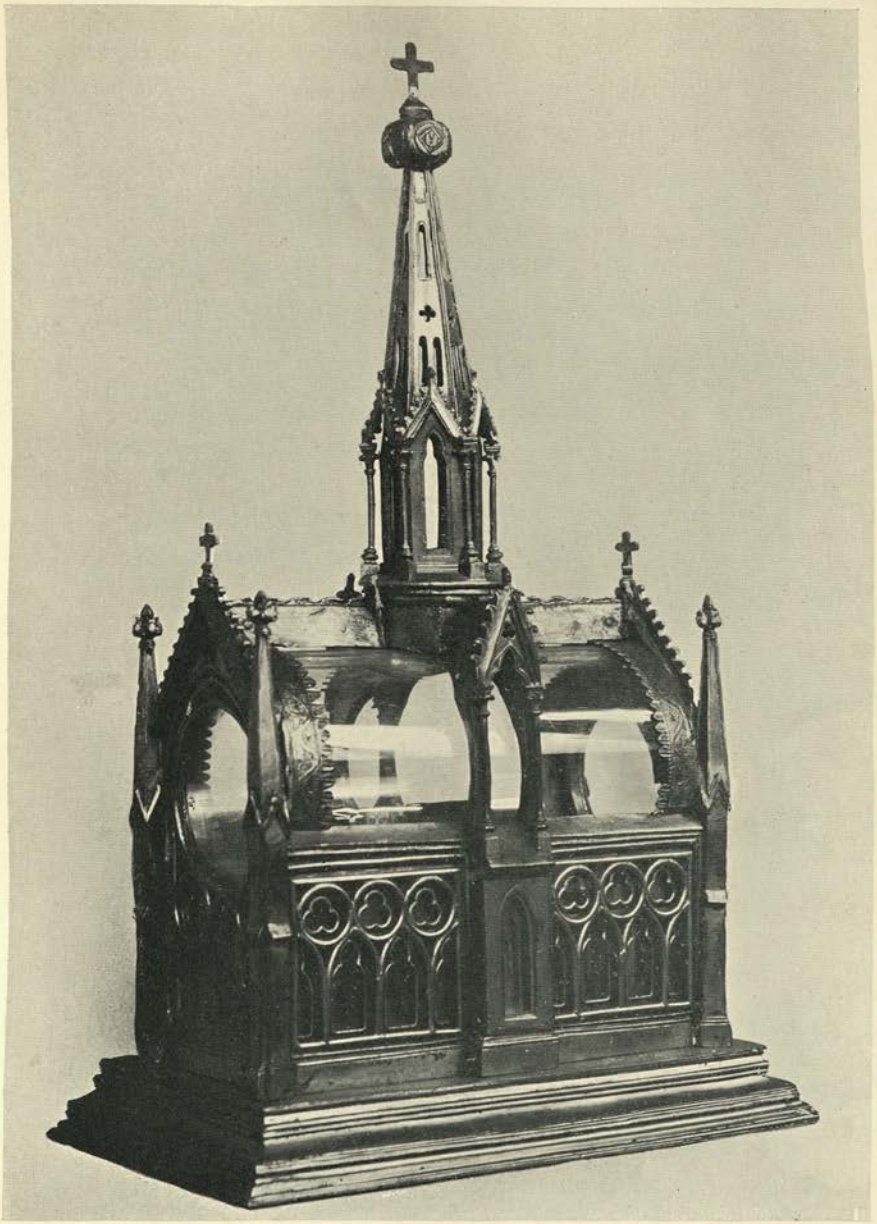


PLATE XV

RELIQUARY IN FORM OF A SHRINE, IN THE V. AND A. MUSEUM

This is a piece of oak 11½ inches by 9 inches, covered with sheets of gilt copper, having three little knobs at the top through which a cord is passed, by which it is suspended from the bearer's neck when carried in processions; on the border are ten square enamels representing the ten first bishops of Tongres, alternating with engravings of the following subjects: Moses; the Levites; the Vision of Constantine; Chosroes, King of Persia, restoring the Cross to Heraclius; the two Israelites returning with the bunch of grapes from the Land of Promise; Elijah the Tishbite; the Woman of Sarepta; the Sacrifice of Abraham; and the Serpent in the Wilderness. Between this border and the shutters, which conceal the relic, are two mouldings, one of which bears this inscription:—

PONTIFICES MERVIT HOS INCLITA TONGRIS HABERE
DONEC EAM POTVIT HVNNORVM GENS ABOLERE;

and the other, separated from it by an ornamental border:—

HOC SALVATORIS TIBI TONGRIS PIGNVS AMORIS
LEGIA DAT LIGNVM CVNCTIS VENERABILE SIGNVM.

On the exterior of the shutters are engraved two angels censing, and on the interior four subjects: (1) S. Helena seated and holding a scroll with the legend, IMPLE DESIDERIVM MEVM; (2) The old Jew, Judas, showing where the Cross and other implements of the Passion had been concealed by his ancestors; (3) Judas and others digging to find them; (4) S. Helena enthroned. The angles of the principal square are filled with enamels bearing the evangelistic symbols, and the centre is occupied by a relic of the Holy Cross, surrounded with a silver beading and protected by crystal. Above it is a representation of our Lord holding a book in His left hand, the right being raised in benediction; on either side are the Virgin and S. John, and below two female figures representing the Church

and the Synagogue ; the former, crowned, holds in one hand the banner of the Cross, and in the other a chalice ; and the latter, blindfolded, bears in one hand a broken standard, and in the other an ox's head. On the reverse of the reliquary is represented the Blessed Virgin enthroned, with the Infant Jesus on her knees.

The portable reliquaries made to be suspended from a belt, such as the one preserved at Sens, were generally of leather, but strengthened and ornamented with metal mounts.

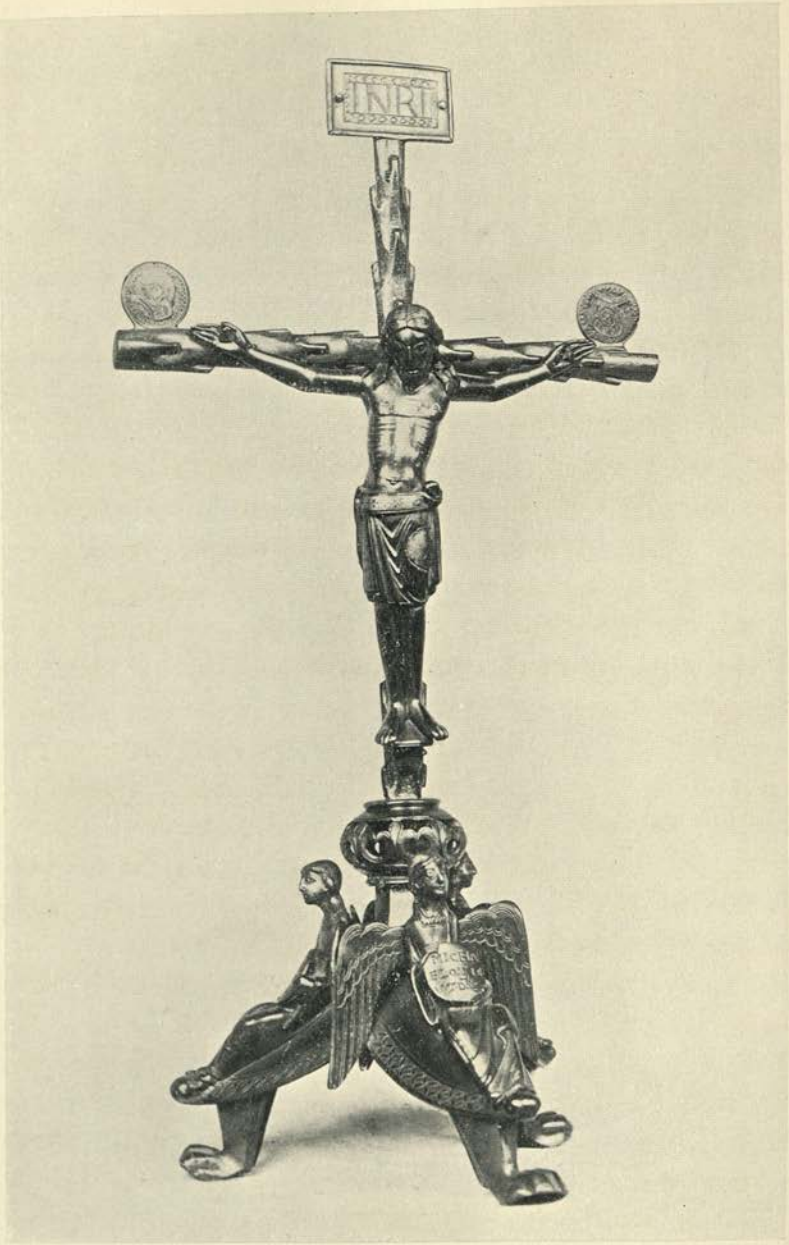


PLATE XVI

ALTAR CROSS, IN THE V. AND A. MUSEUM

CHAPTER XVII

CROSSES

THE metal crosses used in the services of the Church were of two kinds, those placed in the centre of the altar, and those used in ecclesiastical processions; and of these the former were often made in the precious metals, while the latter were generally of copper or bronze.

The earlier altar crosses appear to have been plain, the crucifix not superseding the simple cross, in England at least, before the fourteenth century; and in the sculpture on a tympanum of the south portal of Amiens Cathedral, a work of the thirteenth century, an altar is represented whereon appears, between two candlesticks, a plain Latin cross. The so-called altar cross of S. Eloy, which is a double-armed cross, is without any figure; and the altar cross preserved in the treasury of S. Magdalen's Church, Hildesheim, attributed to Bernward, is a simple Latin cross in form, though richly ornamented on the surface with jewels and filigree.

This cross of Bernward's, which appears to be chiefly of copper gilt, is traditionally said to have been made with his own hands in 994; it stands some 20 inches high without the base, which may be a later addition, and is 16 inches broad across the arms, and is set with great crystals *en cabochon* at the extremities and intersection.

An altar cross of German fabrication in copper or bronze gilt of the thirteenth century, preserved in the Victoria and Albert Museum, although only $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, displays considerable imagery (Plate XVI.). It is a crucifix, the head of our

Saviour being nimbed with a cruciform nimbus, and the arms of the cross bearing the three cardinal virtues, Faith, Hope and Charity. Round the foot of the cross, beneath a knop, on a base spreading out in a tripod form, are the three archangels, Michael, Raphael and Gabriel, each holding a disc inscribed with his name and office.

The cross of the high altar of Laon Cathedral, which is now in the Louvre, is a double-branched or patriarchal cross, standing about 20 inches high and measuring 5 inches across the major arm. It appears to have been made either at the end of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century, and is richly ornamented with jewels and filigree. The figure is quite small, the hands not stretching to the extremities of the cross; and from the knop, on which the cross stands, two branches are carried out bearing the figures of the Virgin and S. John in silver. The circular base is decorated with vine leaves, and spreads out to a diameter of 6 inches, and stands on three animals' feet.

In the Hotel Cluny is a very fine altar cross of patriarchal form, from the Soltykoff collection, of copper gilt, which also forms a reliquary. It is ornamented on both faces with filigree work and stones set *en cabochon*, and is set down as a thirteenth-century production of Limoges. On each face it has eight little reliquaries, the doors of which are decorated, inside and out, with stones and filigree. One of these has the doors pierced with an opening in the form of a cross, which seems to indicate that it once served to contain a relic of the true cross. The cross stands 18 inches high, and measures $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches across the arms; and it is so richly jewelled that the sapphires, garnets and fine pearls number one hundred and sixty.

At S. Walburge, in Furnes, is a fine reliquary cross of copper gilt of fifteenth-century work, adorned with many jewels, and containing a portion of the true cross which the patriarch of

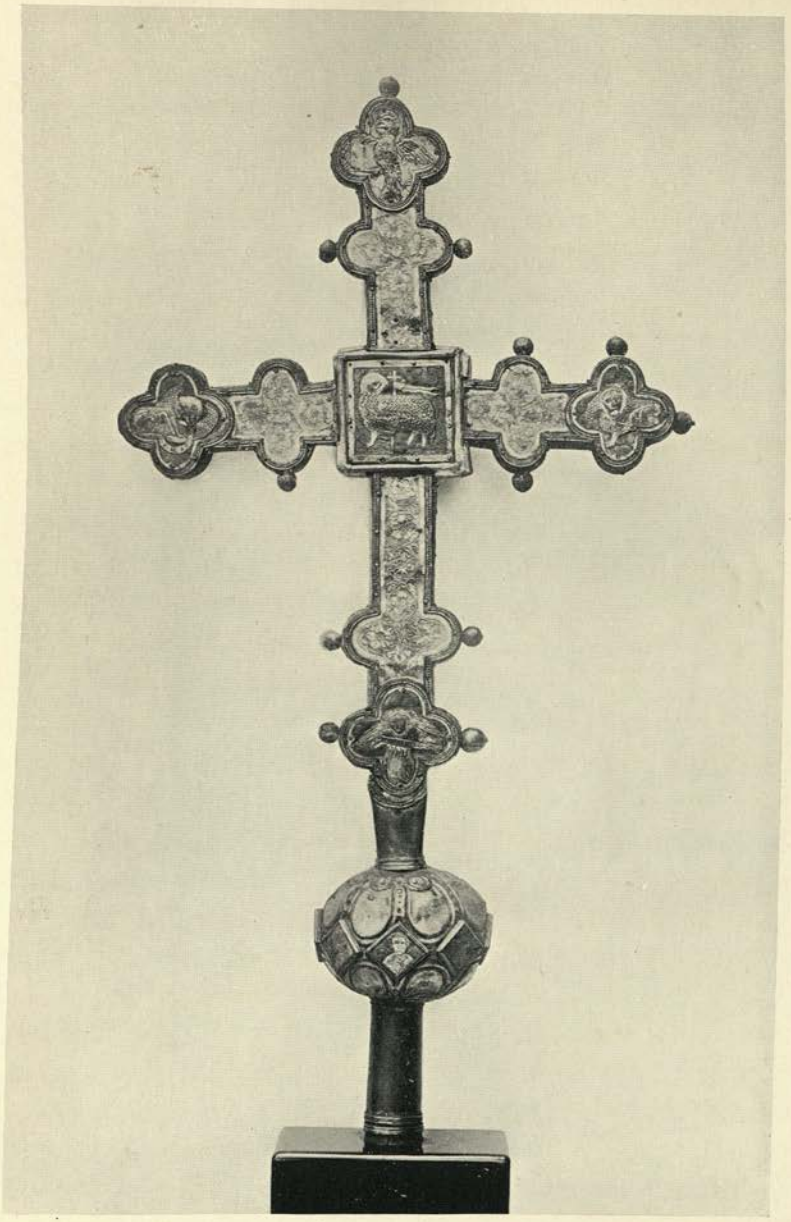


PLATE XVII

PROCESSIONAL CROSS, IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

Jerusalem gave to Robert, Count of Flanders, in 1099. In the

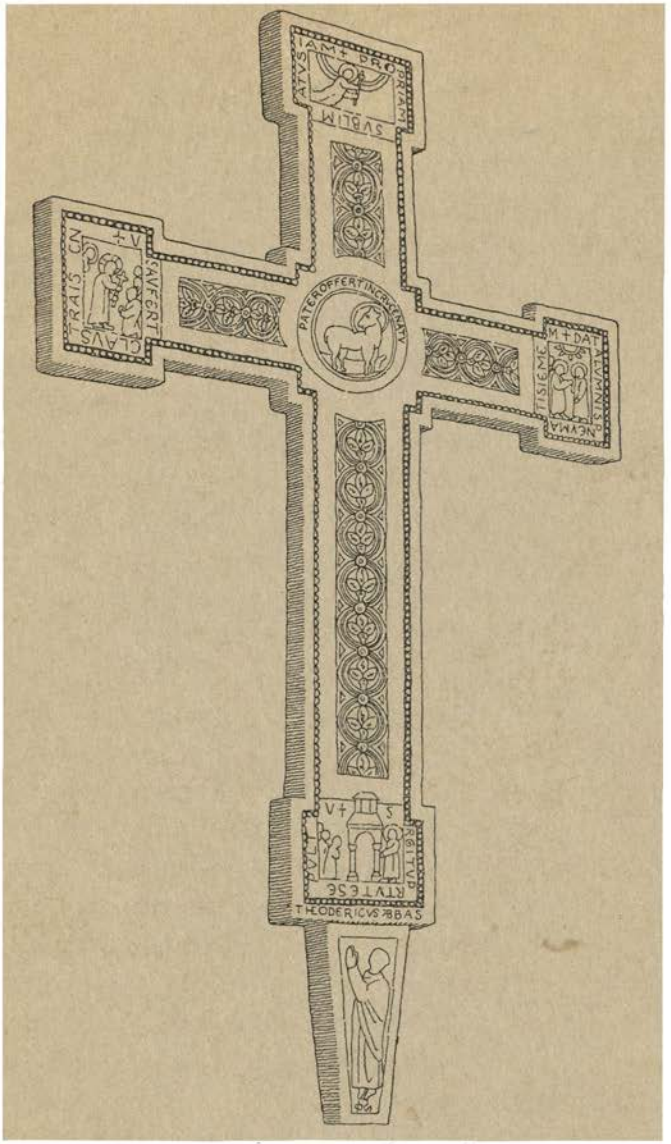


FIG. 29.—PROCESSIONAL CROSS, MAINZ

treasury of Notre Dame at Tongres there are also several reliquary

crosses, one of the thirteenth century with square medallions representing the Virgin and Child enthroned, the Crucifixion, and other subjects in enamel. At S. Severin, Cologne, is a reliquary altar cross of copper gilt; and throughout Germany there are a great number of altar crosses remaining, as in many Lutheran churches they have never been disturbed.

FIG. 30.—FROM A PROCESSIONAL CROSS, SCHATZKAMMER, AUSTRIA

Of processional crosses a very fine one of copper gilt is preserved in Mainz Cathedral, of perhaps eleventh-century work, made or presented by Abbot Theodericus, who engraved his name and likeness at the base. It measures $8\frac{3}{4}$ inches across the arms, and is $15\frac{3}{4}$ inches high, including the base; the stem is $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches wide, and the projections at the ends of the arms measure $1\frac{1}{4}$ by $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches. It will be seen from our sketch (Fig. 29) that it is decorated with a running ornament on the arms, the extremities of which are engraved with subjects described by the inscriptions surrounding them, and at the intersection there is an Agnus Dei. There is a somewhat similar cross at S. Andrew, Rüngsdorf, near Bonn, which measures 20 inches across, and has the evangelistic symbols in quatrefoils at the ends of the arms. Another German example at the British Museum, of which we give an illustration (Plate XVII.), is of wood covered with gilt copper plates, and enamelled plaques of fifteenth-century work. A very fine processional cross, preserved at Schatzkammer, Austria, is of late date, but very richly sculptured,

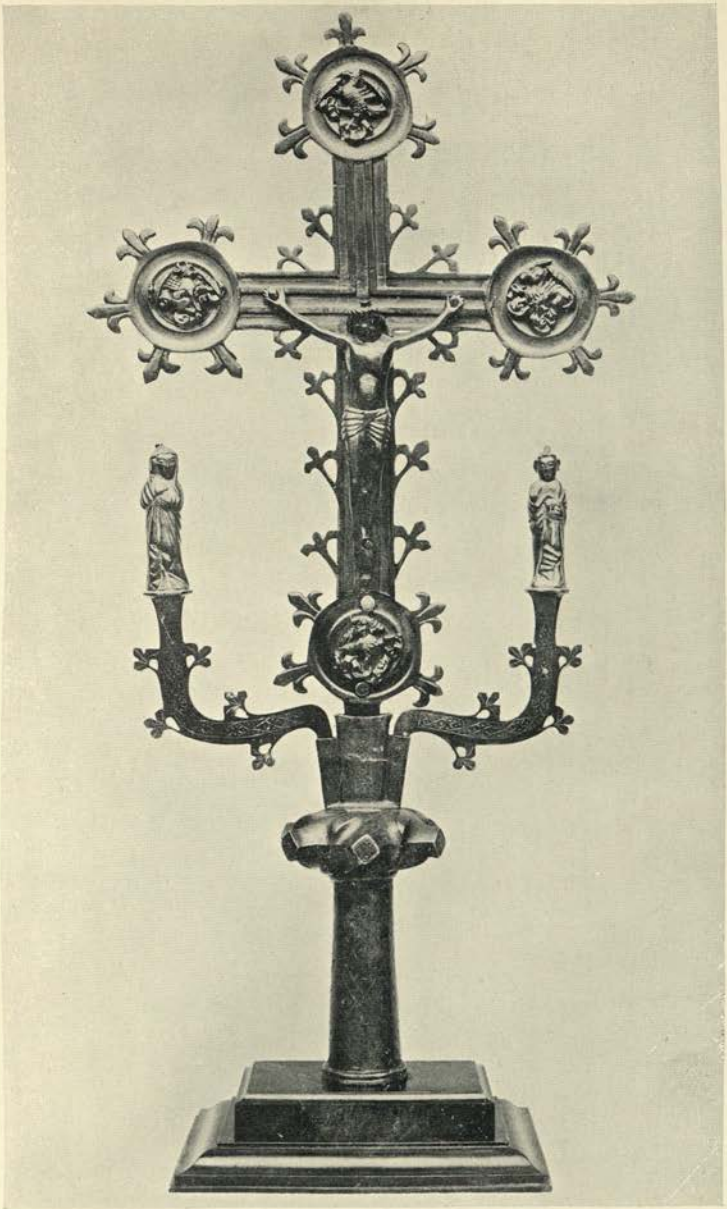


PLATE XVIII

PROCESSIONAL CROSS, IN THE V. AND A. MUSEUM

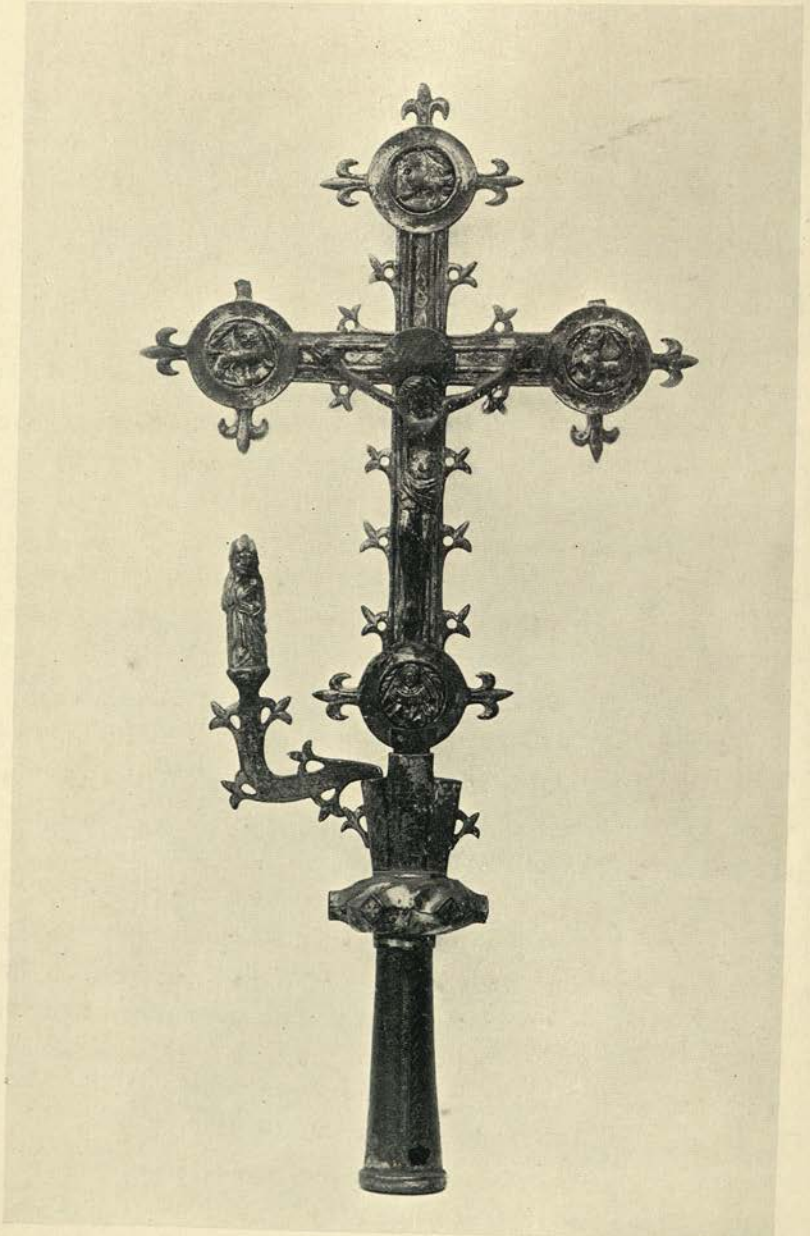


PLATE XIX

PROCESSIONAL CROSS, FROM GLASTONBURY ABBEY

and we give a sketch of one of the figures standing on a branch which springs from the cross (Fig. 30); and at the Victoria and Albert Museum there is a somewhat similar fifteenth-century cross, having the figures of SS. Mary and John standing on either side (Plate XVIII.).

In England crosses of a similar character were made, as is shown by one now preserved at the British Museum, which once belonged to Glastonbury Abbey; but it is in a much damaged condition, having lost one of the standing figures (Plate XIX.).

There is preserved at the Hotel Cluny a very curious processional insignia, which may be mentioned here, of cast bronze sculptured and enriched with imitation precious stones, which belonged to the Chapel of the Carmes-Billettes, of the suppressed Carmelite convent in Paris. The insignia consists of a group of figures in gilded bronze, mounted on a long processional staff encrusted with mother-of-pearl and raised ornaments in copper repoussé. The principal subject is composed of three figures representing a well-known miracle of the Host and the Jew Jonathan, in the scene where the Jew, having thrown the wafer into a lighted brazier, blows and pokes the fire, while his wife carries in her apron fresh fuel for it, and from the pan rises the vision of Christ on the Cross in an aureole of glory. This insignia, which was made in the fourteenth century as a memorial of the miracle, was carried with great pomp in the ceremonies of the Church. The height of it, exclusive of the staff, is 2 feet 1 inch, and the width about 10½ inches.

CHAPTER XVIII

CENSERS

THE use of incense in the services of the Church commenced at an early period of its history, but we can only conjecture what form the earliest vessels assumed, as no very ancient ones have survived; but it seems most probable that the first censers were not intended to be carried about. There is an early representation of a censer in the Ravenna mosaics, where one is shown suspended, but without a cover, and in the British Museum is a similar one, of the sixth century, brought from Cyprus; and in the Greek Church they were often merely an open dish mounted on a tall foot.

The earliest censers of which complete examples remain were formed in two parts, the lower dish to contain the burning incense, and a perforated cover through which the perfumed smoke escaped. The lower part was suspended by three or four chains, which, passing through loops provided at the edges of the cover, allowed that to be moved up or down; and these chains were gathered into a cap at the top by which the censer was held. The cover was provided with a central independent chain, which was also secured to the cap with the others; and these chains and cups show very clearly in our sketches. In some of the more elaborate censers the lower dish was pierced to match the upper part, and in that case another dish was fixed inside it to hold the burning incense.

We have already referred to Saxon censers preserved in the British Museum in our general remarks on English art; and it is now only necessary to point out how strictly they

conformed to the rule laid down, later on, by the monk Theo-

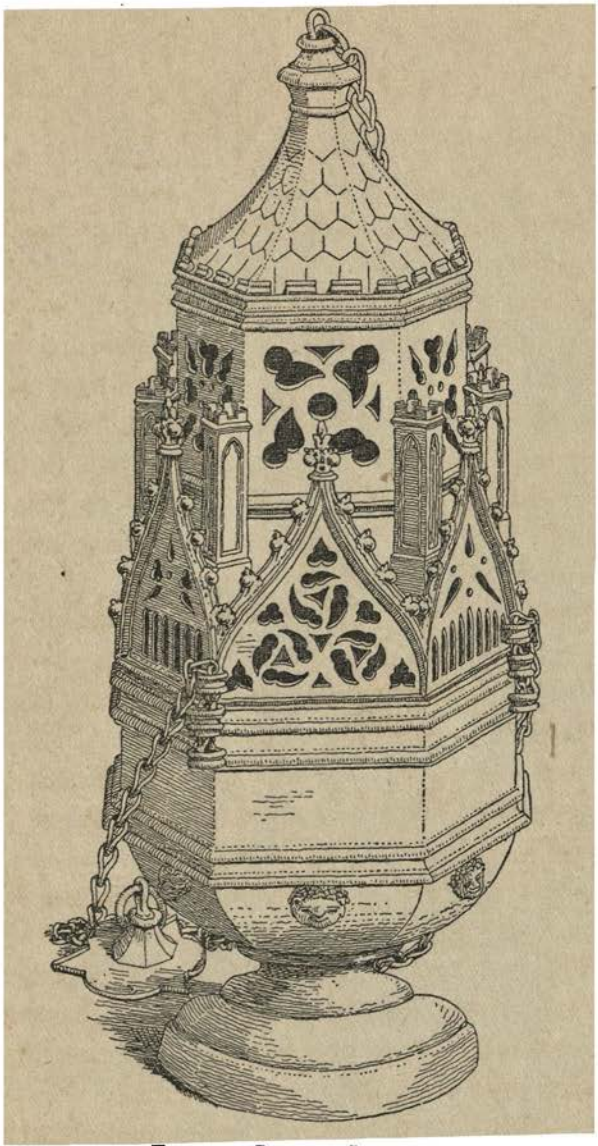


FIG. 31.—CENSER, LOUVAIN

philus, in giving that architectural form to the covers intended

to symbolise the heavenly Jerusalem. The same idea seems to have inspired the artist of the remarkable bronze censer, cast,

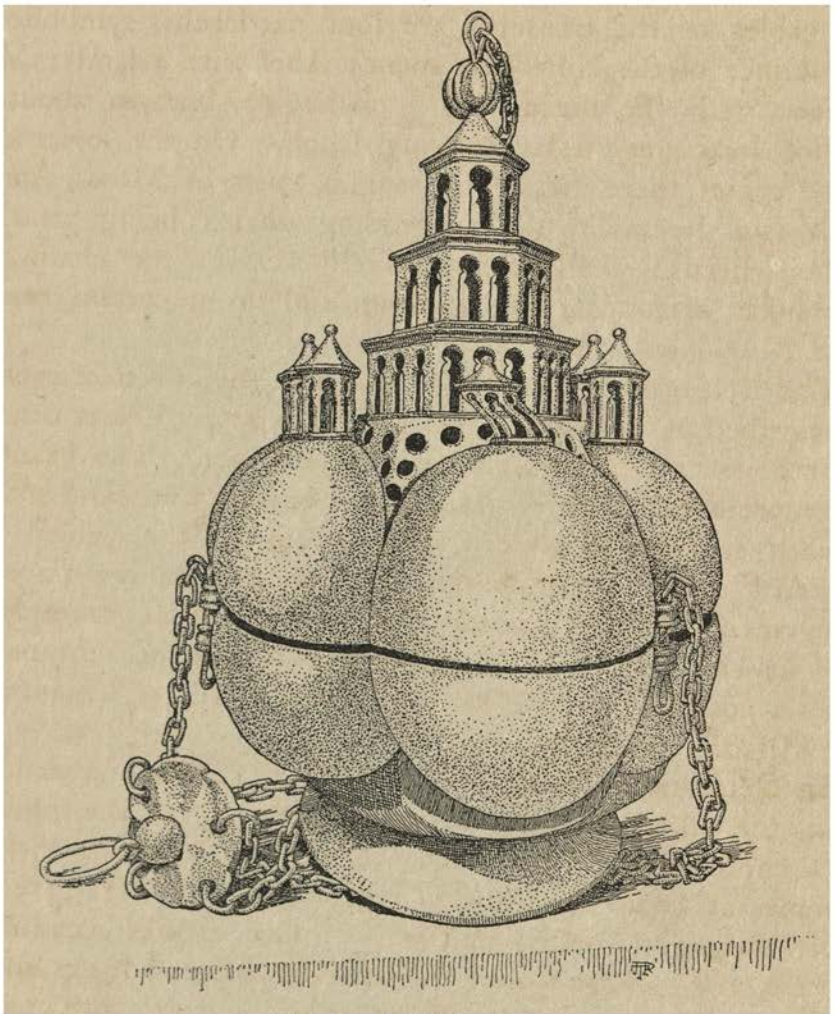


FIG. 32.—CENSER, ITALIAN

sculptured and gilt, dating from the second half of the twelfth century, preserved in the Cathedral of Trier. The censer is square on plan, each face being formed like the transept of

a church, with an apsidal termination, and in two storeys, and in the four angles rise circular turrets. On the top of the censer is a figure of Solomon seated on his throne, and on the four gables of the transepts are four patriarchs, symbolic of the sacrifice of the New Testament: Abel with a lamb; Melchisedec with the bread and a chalice; Abraham about to sacrifice Isaac; and Isaac blessing Jacob. On the lower dish of the censer there are, in the angles, busts of Moses, Aaron, Isaiah and Jeremiah, the suspending chains being attached to their heads; and the cap which receives the chains has little busts of four of the apostles, and an uncertain central figure.

The architectural forms to be given to the covers of censers, as prescribed by Theophilus, occasionally appear in later censers, but in a less prominent manner than at Trier. The beautiful censer preserved in the sacristy of Louvain Cathedral of the fifteenth century (Fig. 31) shows them in the gabled and crocketed sides with pinnacles between, and in the traceried arrangement of the piercings; while the Italian example in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Fig. 32) in the termination shows a copy of the well-known central tower of Chiaravalle, near Milan.

In Germany architectural forms were generally abandoned during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and the spherical shape, more or less ornamented, was adopted, as shown in these examples at South Kensington (Plate XX. and Fig. 33); and where they were represented in sculpture, as was occasionally the case, the spherical form is generally adhered to, as shown in an example from Italian sculpture of the thirteenth century (Fig. 34).

Accompanying the censers a vessel to contain the incense was always carried by the thurifer or an attendant, which was known as the incense-boat or navette; and where representations

of the thurifer occur in painting or sculpture, he is generally shown as carrying the censer in his right hand and the incense-boat in his left. The usual form of these vessels, as

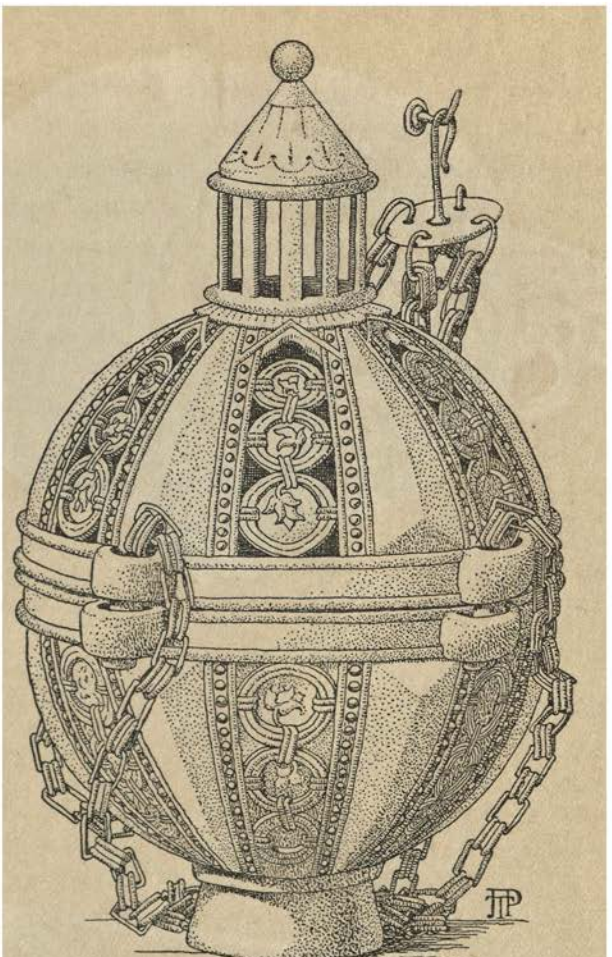


FIG. 33.—CENSER, GERMAN

can be seen by an example of fifteenth-century work in the British Museum, was that of an oblong dish mounted on a foot, which allowed of it being stood on the credence, and

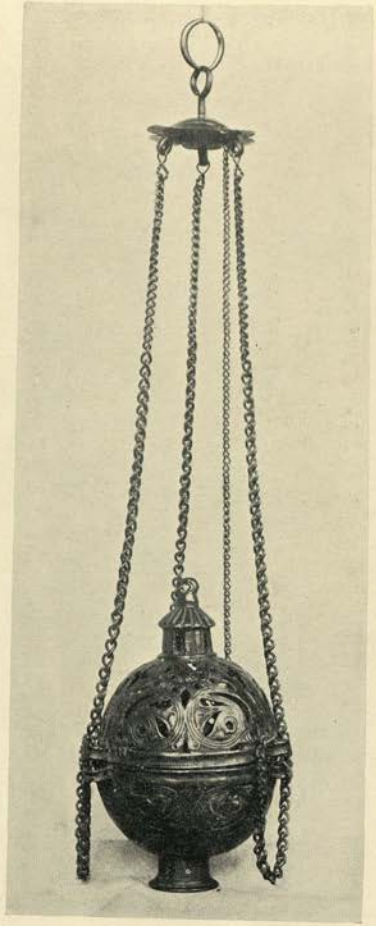


PLATE XX

CENSERS, IN THE V. AND A. MUSEUM

the top was covered by a double lid, hinged in the middle, and each leaf fitted with a handle to raise it. These incense-boats were, like the censers, made both in copper and silver, and were sometimes enamelled; and a great number of good examples are to be found in the museums.

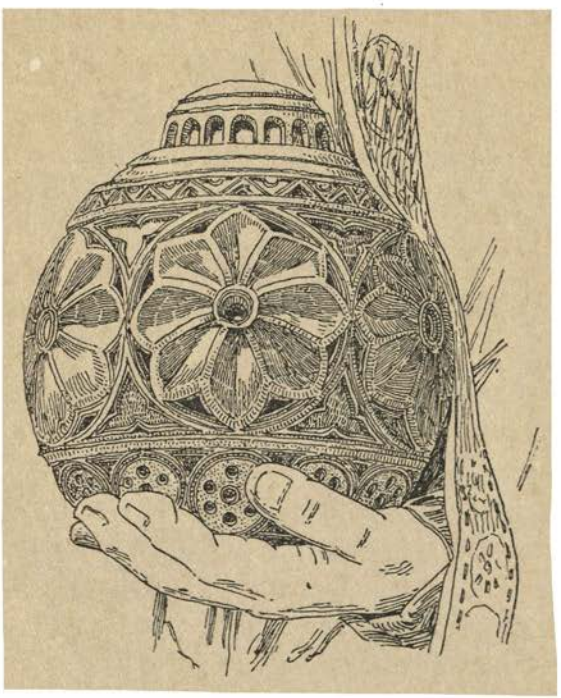


FIG. 34.—CENSER IN ITALIAN SCULPTURE

CHAPTER XIX

CANDLESTICKS AND LIGHT-HOLDERS

LAMPS, candlesticks, chandeliers and coronas can be divided into two classes, one including those required for purely religious and ceremonial purposes, and the other embracing those employed for general illumination of civil or religious buildings.

During the first three hundred years of its existence ceremonial lights, whether in the form of lamps, candles or torches, were unknown in the Christian Church. Indeed, in the countries bordering on the Mediterranean Sea, which during the period of imperial rule in Rome included practically all the civilised world, artificial light was but little used for domestic or any purposes, since in these regions day and night were more evenly distributed than in northern latitudes; and it was possible for a Greek or Roman of that date to get through his day's work or pleasure without more assistance from artificial light than was necessary for him to get up by before the sun on a winter's morning so as to be ready to pursue his avocations when it did rise. De Quincey, in his well-known essay on *The Casuistry of Roman Meals*, speaking of these times, says: "None but rich or luxurious men, nay, even among these, none but the idlers, did live or could live by candle-light. An immense majority of men in Rome never lighted a candle except at early dawn. And this custom of Rome was the custom of all the nations round the great lake of the Mediterranean. In Athens, Egypt, Palestine, Asia

Minor, everywhere the ancients went to bed from seven to nine o'clock." But during the period of the persecutions, when the Church was compelled to take refuge in the catacombs, artificial light became necessary for the conduct of the worship; and from the habit of using them in these subterranean places, more particularly for such portions of the services as required reading, as the Gospel and the Epistle, the custom may have arisen of their ceremonial use in later times.

The form of these earliest lights used in the catacombs was that of the ordinary Roman oil-lamp in use at the time, having a burning wick floating on the oil, since candles or torches would have been quite unsuitable and inconvenient in the confined space of these underground passages; and that such lamps were specially made for Christian use we have abundant evidence in the bronzes to be seen in the Lateran and Vatican museums, where there are examples of lamps, of the ordinary Roman type, decorated with Christian symbols and monograms.

One of the first distinct directions referring to the use of ceremonial lights of which we have any record is that given by S. Zosimus the Greek, who was Pope in 417 and 418, whereby he ordered that a candle of wax should be blessed in all churches on the Holy Sabbath of Easter. But that the ceremonial use of lights at the reading of the Gospel was usual before that date there is no doubt, since S. Jerome refers to the custom in 378 as existing in his time through all the churches of the East, where, when the Gospel was read, the lights were kindled although the sun was already shining.

The manner in which these Gospel lights were used was perfectly regulated by the time of the eighth century, for it was then directed that when the deacon went to the ambone to read the Gospel, two lights were to be carried before him in honour of the book which he bore in his hands, and these lights

were to be extinguished in their place when the reading of the Gospel had been completed. As to the paschal light, we learn from the *Ordo Romanus*, dating about the year 730, that the fire for the candle was to be procured in this fashion. On the Maundy Thursday at the ninth hour a light was to be struck from a flint outside the church door, from which a candle was to be lighted and brought into the church, and from that a lamp was to be kindled and kept burning until Easter Eve, and from this was to be lighted the wax candle or paschal light which had been blessed on that day. We find also that this paschal candle, when once it was lighted, was to be kept burning until Ascension-tide.

FIG. 35.—THE GOLDEN CANDLESTICK, FROM THE ARCH OF TITUS, ROME

All these regulations refer to the use of candles as distinguished from oil-lamps, but for the holders necessary to support the candles there were few or no ancient models available for imitation. The "Golden Candlestick" of Jerusalem, the representation of which was carved on the Arch of Titus, was familiar to early Roman Christians (Fig. 35), but its character evidently made it unsuitable to be imitated for the portable lights required for the Gospel reading; and although in later mediæval times its form was curiously imitated in the great branched paschals, some simple shape must have been adopted for single candles of which no specimens have survived to our time. The Romans, we know, frequently raised their lamps on tall pedestals, one of which was used as the paschal candlestick in the Church of SS. Nereo ed Achilleo, Rome

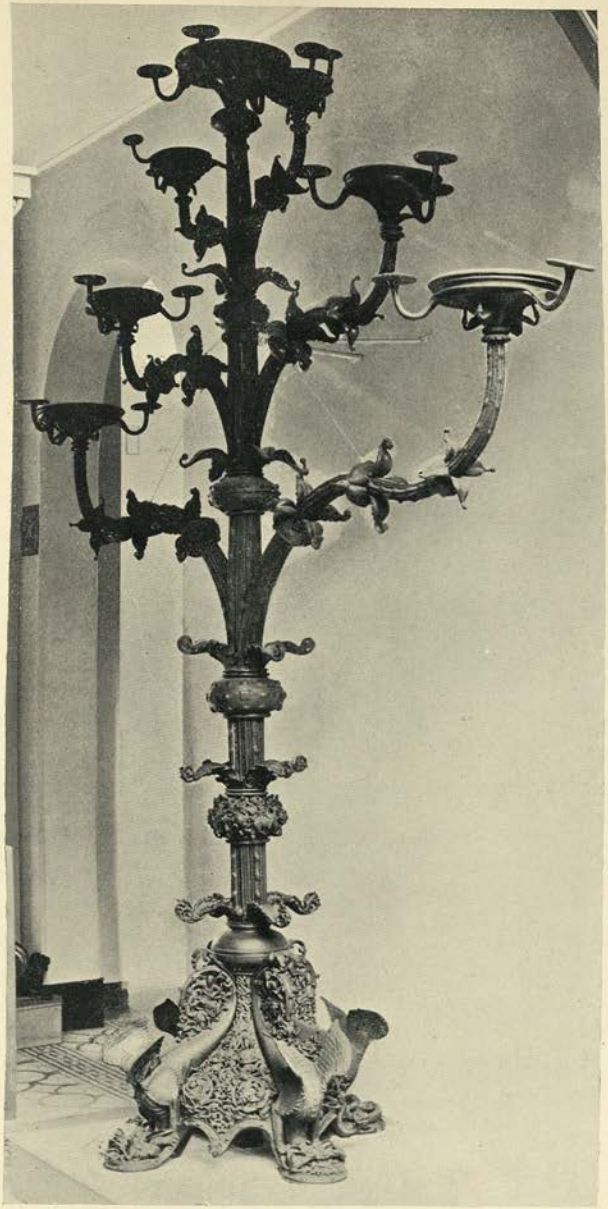


PLATE XXI

PASCHAL CANDLESTICK, MILAN CATHEDRAL

(Fig. 36), and this may have suggested the earliest form of candlestick.

Between the candlesticks used for the Gospel light and those for the paschal there was necessarily a great difference, since the former had to be carried backwards and forwards with the reader, and had therefore to be of a portable character; while the latter, although only in use for a short time once a year, had to be sufficiently large to carry a candle expected to burn for six weeks, and when set up in its place to remain undisturbed for that time. Of the enormous size of these candles in the Middle Ages we have evidence in the records of Canterbury, where we find that the wax candle used in 1457 weighed three hundred pounds; and at Norwich it was so lofty that it had to be kindled by a light let down from the vault of the choir.

FIG. 36.—CANDELABRUM IN SS. NEREO ED ACHILLEO, ROME

The account we have of the great paschal of Durham Cathedral will give some idea of the size and magnificence to which these ceremonial candlesticks attained in England before the Reformation. It was made entirely of latten, and set up before the high altar on Maundy Thursday. The spreading base had its four feet formed of dragons bearing the figures of the four evangelists, and between them interlacing foliage with armed horsemen and beasts. Upwards it spread out into six branches nearly the width of the choir, and as high as the vaulting of the side aisles; while the centre shaft rose as a seventh candlestick to so great a height that the candle had to be lighted by a pole from the highest

vault. When out of use this paschal was taken to pieces and placed in the aisle near by, and it was kept clean by the choir boys.

The finest example we have of a seven-branched candlestick still in use is in the Duomo of Milan (Plate XXI.), but as it only stands some 14 feet in height, it cannot compare in point of size with that of Durham, although its likeness in other particulars is considerable. It is all of gilt bronze, and is locally known as the "Tree of the Virgin," from the figure of the Virgin enthroned with the Child sculptured on one face of the great knop of the main stem. The base, like that of Durham, is formed of four dragons with raised wings, and between them, caught in the convolutions of interlacing foliage, are angels, symbolic figures, signs of the zodiac, and scriptural subjects such as Noah's Ark and Abraham's Sacrifice; and from the reeded stem bend out six graceful branches, which, together with the central shaft, carry seven great candles, and round each of their sconces are grouped four smaller ones, making altogether an illumination of thirty-five lights. As to the question of where this great paschal was made there is considerable divergence of opinion. It was only presented to the Duomo in 1562, and only at that date were the six great branches made; but all the most beautiful part, including the base and the main stem, belong to the twelfth century, and may be either French or German work.

There are several seven-branched paschals remaining in Europe, though none so beautiful as that of Milan; but one in the Chapel of S. Anne in the Cathedral of Prague stands on a base which it is locally asserted had once served for that of the "Golden Candlestick" of Jerusalem. It is said to have been brought in 1162 from Milan by King Vladislaw, and seems probably to be a work of the eleventh century, while all the upper part of the candlestick belongs to the Renaissance

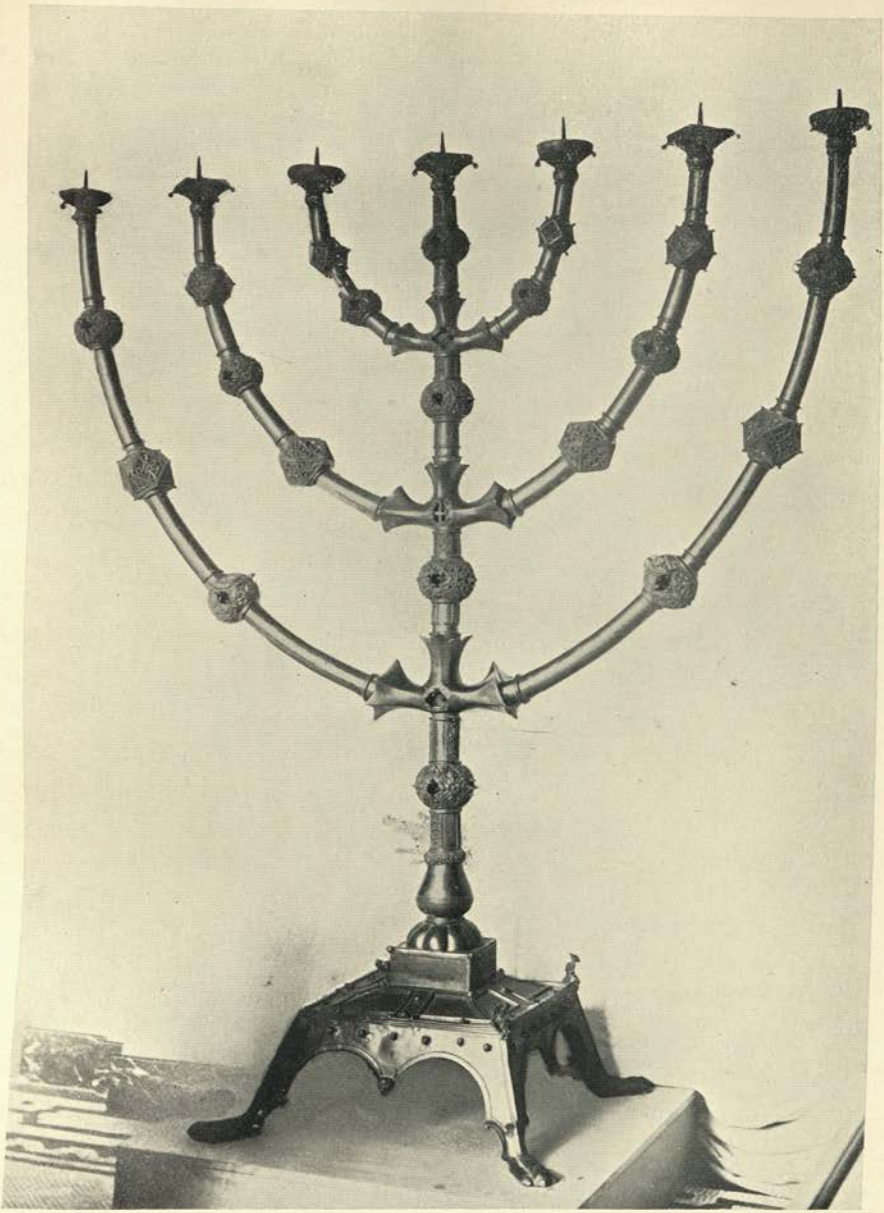


PLATE XXII

PASCHAL CANDLESTICK, ESSEN

period. At Essen, however, we see a seven-branched candle-

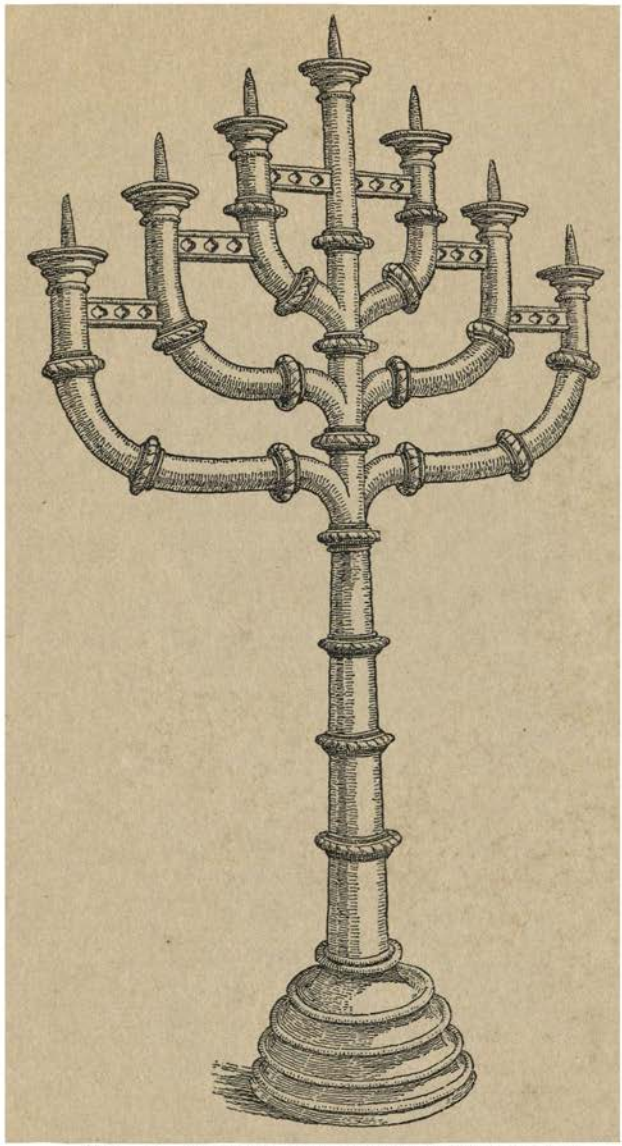


FIG. 37.—PASCHAL CANDLESTICK, MAGDEBURG

stick of great interest with a more authentic history, of which

we give an illustration (Plate XXII.). It was made for the Abbess Mechtildas, the sister of Otho II., in 998; and the simplicity of its design and the ornament in the knops suggest that it may have been made under the direct influence of the Byzantine workers brought into Germany by the Empress Theophano. The seven-branched candlestick in the Cathedral of Magdeburg, though equally simple in form, may belong to the thirteenth century (Fig. 37).

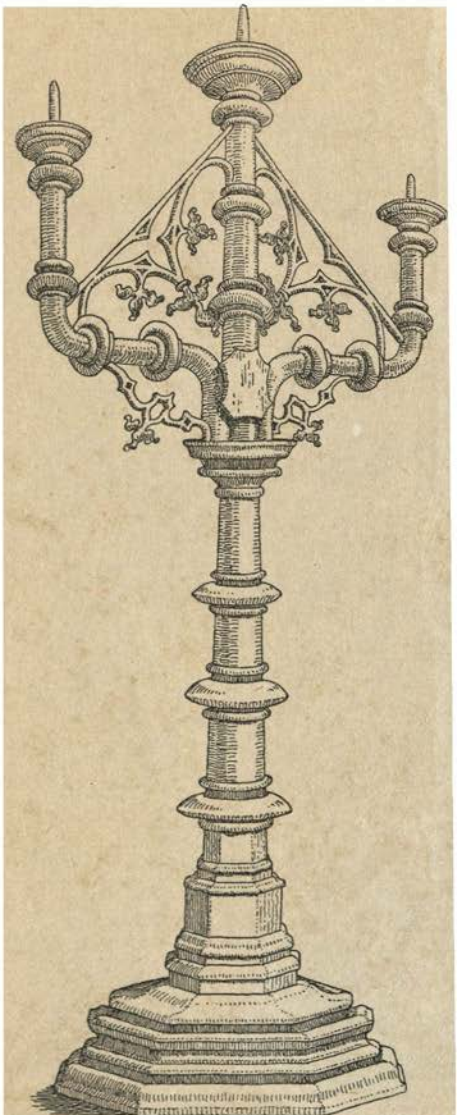


FIG. 38.—PASCHAL CANDLESTICK, XANTEN

One of the finest seven-branched candlesticks in the north of Europe is to be found in the Church of S. Léonard at Léau. It is executed in the finest brass, and stands some 16 feet in height; from a hexagonal base supported by three lions and three dogs rises a massive shaft, with a perforated lectern attached to it, immediately above which is a small branch for a candle and a statuette of S. Léonard. Above these are the six larger branches for lights, adorned with vine leaves and bunches of grapes, while the uppermost part of the shaft, terminating in a pricket for the paschal

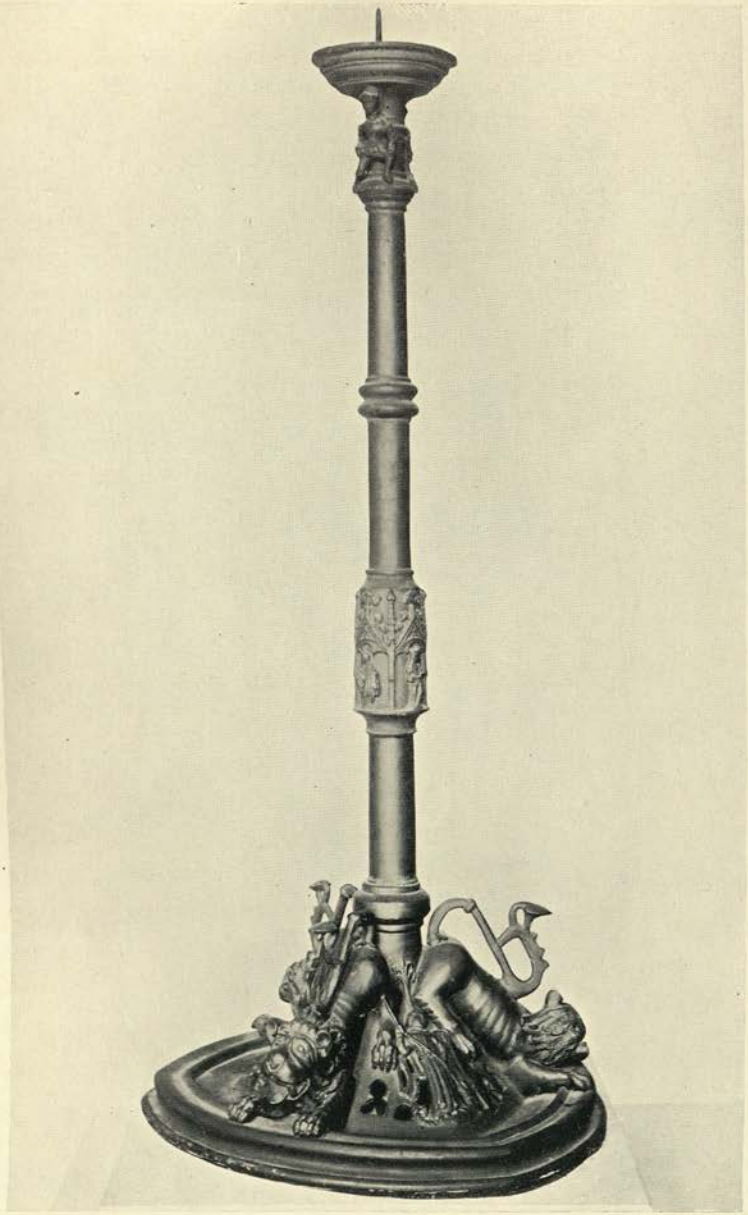


PLATE XXIII

PASCHAL CANDLESTICK, IN THE V. AND A. MUSEUM

candle, has a figure of our Lord crucified attached to it, surrounded by statues of the Blessed Virgin, S. John, and S. Mary Magdalen, supported on brackets.

Branched candlesticks of two or three lights are somewhat less common; but there is a fine one of the fourteenth century in the Church of S. Victor at Xanten (Fig. 38), and a remarkably beautiful one of two lights, perhaps of the fifteenth century, was in the collection of the late A. J. B. Beresford-Hope (Fig. 39). This has the central part surmounted by a floriated crucifix in place of a candle, and to the lower part of the shaft is attached a desk of open tracery work, enriched with an Agnus Dei in the centre—a not unusual arrangement in paschal candlesticks, as from this was often read the *exultet*.

FIG. 39.—FROM THE BERESFORD-HOPE COLLECTION

There is a somewhat similar candlestick to this last, but of three lights and without the crucifix, of fifteenth-century work at Gaurain, near Tournay, which also has a desk bearing the Agnus Dei; and a similar desk occurs on a fifteenth-century paschal at the Beguinage of S. Trond. In S. Cunibert, Cologne, there is a fine five branched brass candlestick of the fifteenth

century, standing on a hexagonal base supported by three lions, having a crucifix attached to the stem.

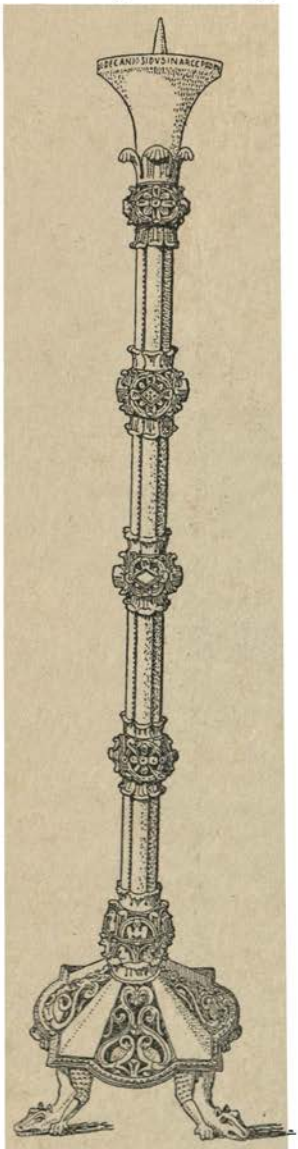


FIG. 40.—PASCHAL CANDLESTICK, BAMBERG

Another unusual form of candlestick, perhaps only intended for illuminating and not ceremonial purposes, occurs in the church already mentioned at Xanten. It takes the form of a brass screen of rich open tracery work, in three compartments, stretching across the choir, not in lieu of the rood screen, but immediately in front of the altar; the supporting shafts are crowned by figures, and the upper rail of the screen carries thirty-six great candles. It appears to be Flemish work, and is dated 1520.

The single-light paschal candlesticks are sometimes very simple, as in Plate XXIII.; but a good deal of work is lavished on them at times, as is the case with that standing in the Chapel of the Holy Nail in Bamberg Cathedral (Figs. 40 to 43). It will be seen from these illustrations that the modelling and sculpture of the knops and base with its four dragon feet are exquisite, and the beauty of the knops is heightened by champlevé enamel. Round the sconce at the top runs this inscription:—

✠ SMPPLICIS HERMANNI DONIS PLACARE DECANI
✠ SIDVS IN ARCE POLI PRELVCENS SANCTE GEORI

which approximately fixes the date as of the earlier half of the twelfth century, since the Herman mentioned became Dean of S. Michael's in 1123.

Another notable single-light candlestick, some 10 feet high,

FIG. 41.—KNOP ON BAMBERG CANDLESTICK

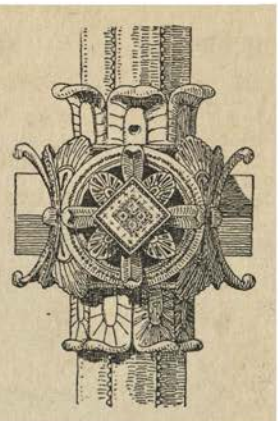


FIG. 42.—KNOP ON BAMBERG CANDLESTICK, WITH ENAMEL

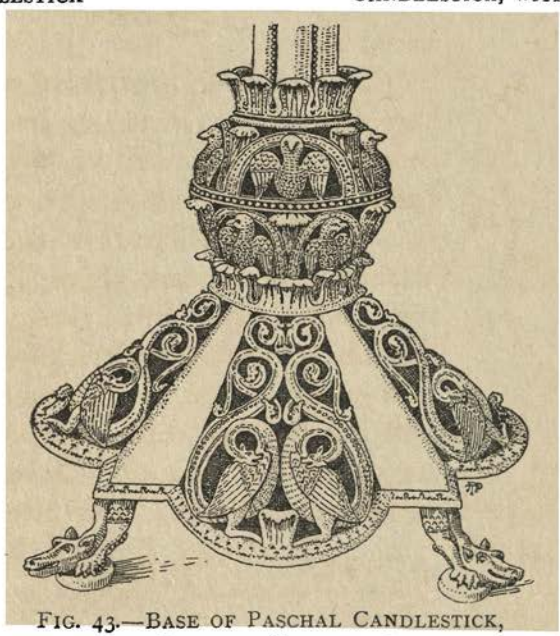


FIG. 43.—BASE OF PASCHAL CANDLESTICK, BAMBERG CATHEDRAL

standing on a hexagonal base and supported by three lions, is the one at Tongres dated and signed by Joses de Dinant.

Altar candlesticks display great diversity in their designs, and during the later Middle Ages were often made in the precious metals. The fact that the earliest we have remaining were generally of a very ornamental character may be possibly due to the inferior ones having been consigned to the melting-pot from which their superior beauty saved them. The pair attributed to Bernward at Hildesheim, and the Gloucester candlestick, which may have been one of a pair, we have already described; but from their extreme richness must be regarded as rare. The more usual type of the early altar candlesticks is represented by the example we gave from Trier, and those of gilt bronze with crystal knops now preserved in the British Museum (Plate XXIV.). In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries they more nearly approximated in their design and treatment to the lecterns and standard candlesticks of the period, as may be seen by the examples from Brunswick (Fig. 44) and Düsseldorf (Fig. 45), while a large number were decorated with enamel and pass as Limoges work, as shown in Fig. 46.

FIG. 44.—ALTAR CANDLESTICK, BRUNSWICK

For the hanging lights used for purely illuminating purposes the most important as well as the earliest are the great coronas, of which that at Hildesheim is the best-known example (Plate XXV.). It was completed by Bishop Hezilo, an immediate successor to Bernward, and hangs in the middle of the cathedral nave. The great circle is of copper gilt, with inscriptions in enamel, and a cusped border of silver. Each of the twelve towers attached to the circle contained four silver statuettes of personages mentioned in the Old Testament,

AQUAMANILLE, IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

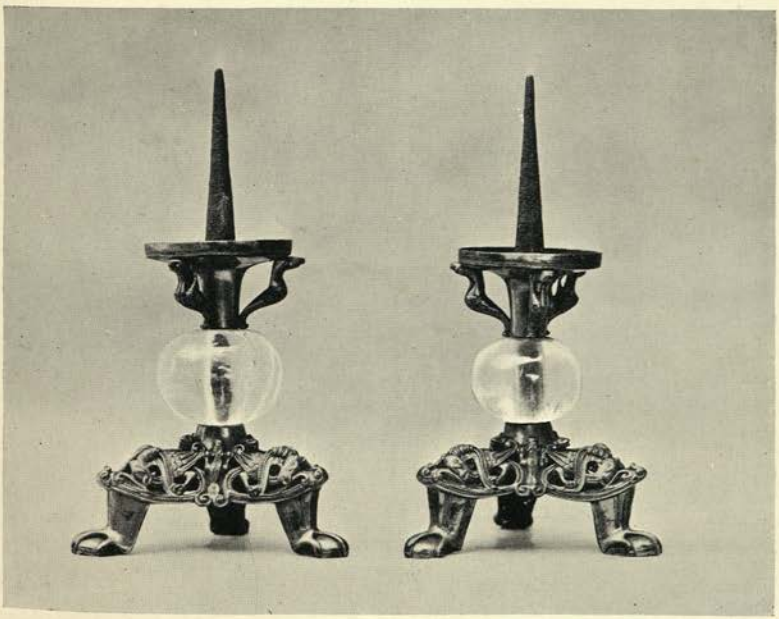


PLATE XXIV

ALTAR CANDLESTICKS, IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

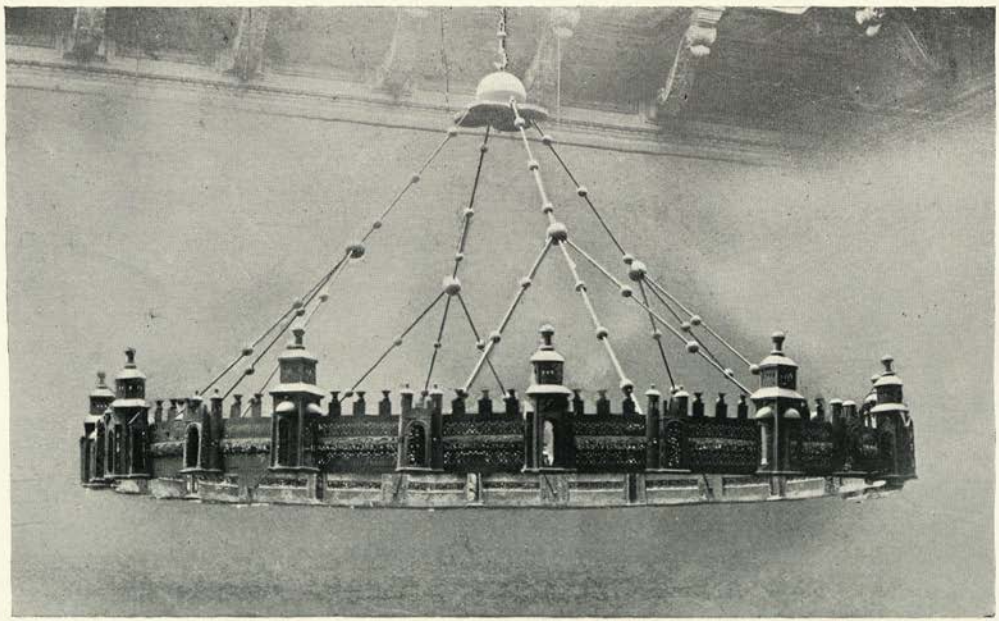


PLATE XXV

CORONA, HILDESHEIM

which were stolen by the Swedes in the Thirty Years' War, but the inscriptions remain giving their names, and in the niches between were the Twelve Apostles, making sixty figures in all; and along the top edge of the circle were placed sconces for seventy-two candles. The smaller corona at Hildesheim, which is perhaps thirty years later in date, is similar in character, but has only forty-eight bronze statuettes and thirty-six sconces for lights.

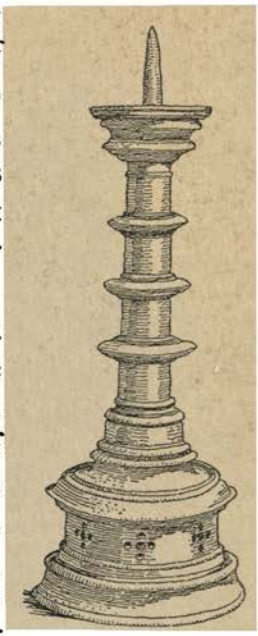


FIG. 45.—ALTAR CANDLESTICK, DÜSSELDORF

The corona which Frederick Barbarossa presented to the Minster of Aix-la-Chapelle is even more elaborate, as instead of being a simple circle, it is formed of twelve cusps with twelve niches holding figures, and ninety-eight prickets for candles on the rim. There were similar coronas in the cathedrals of Toul and Reims, but they were destroyed at the Revolution.

FIG. 46.—ALTAR CANDLESTICK, LIMOGES

Although we have nothing in England to compare to these great coronas in size or elaboration, there are a few fine chandeliers, such as the one hanging in the Temple Church, Bristol (Fig. 47). It is of brass, and may date from the end of the fourteenth century, and is made to carry twelve candles in sconces. The lights are arranged in two tiers, the lower one for eight, with open buttresses rising between each alternate pair, from which spring the four lights of the next tier. The stem has at the top a statue of the Virgin and Child, surmounted by a great crown,

from which the chandelier is suspended, and below a figure of S. George and the Dragon. There is a somewhat similar

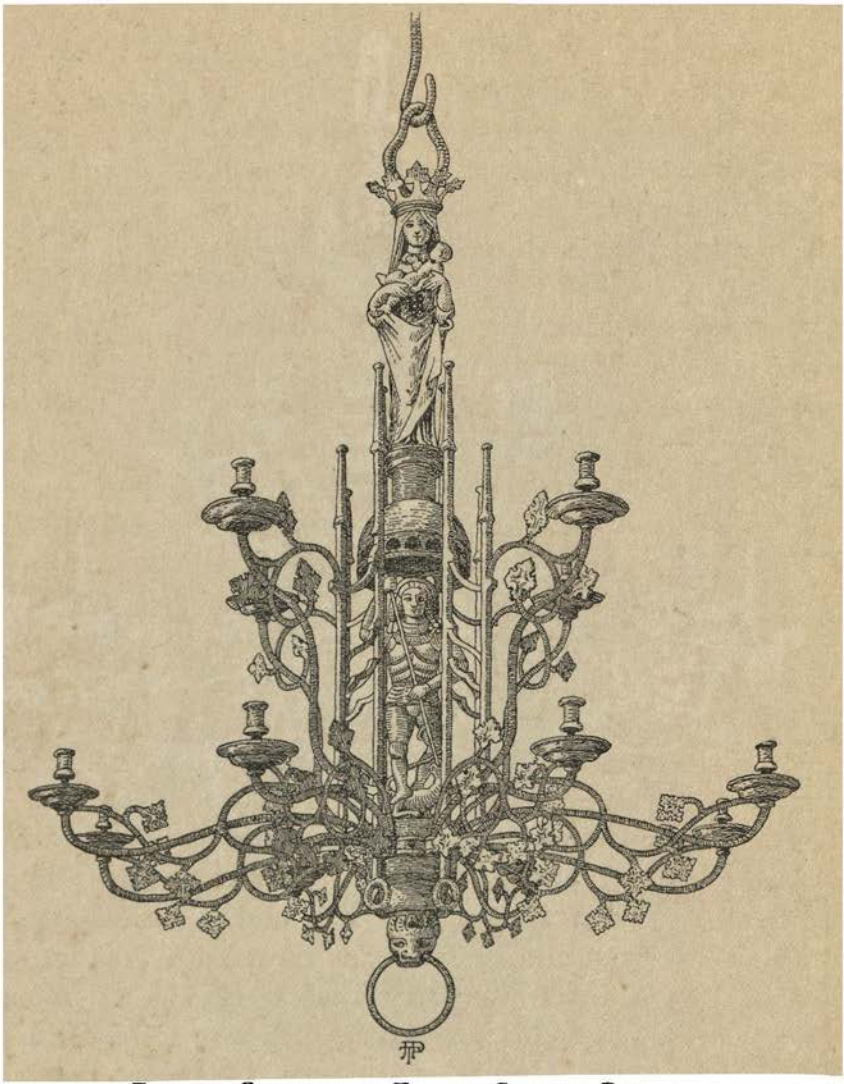


FIG. 47.—CHANDELIER, TEMPLE CHURCH, BRISTOL

chandelier in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Plate XXVI.), but whence it came seems uncertain.

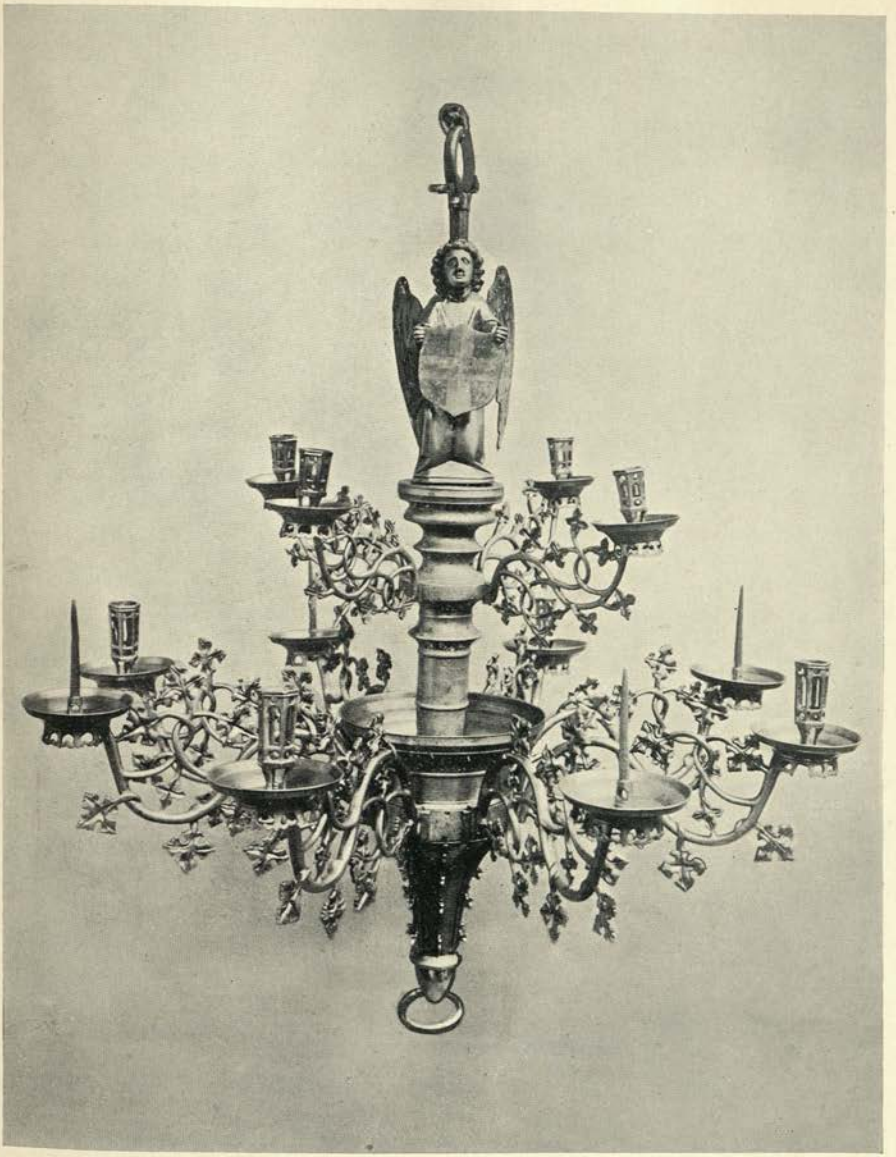


PLATE XXVI

CHANDELIER, IN THE V. AND A. MUSEUM

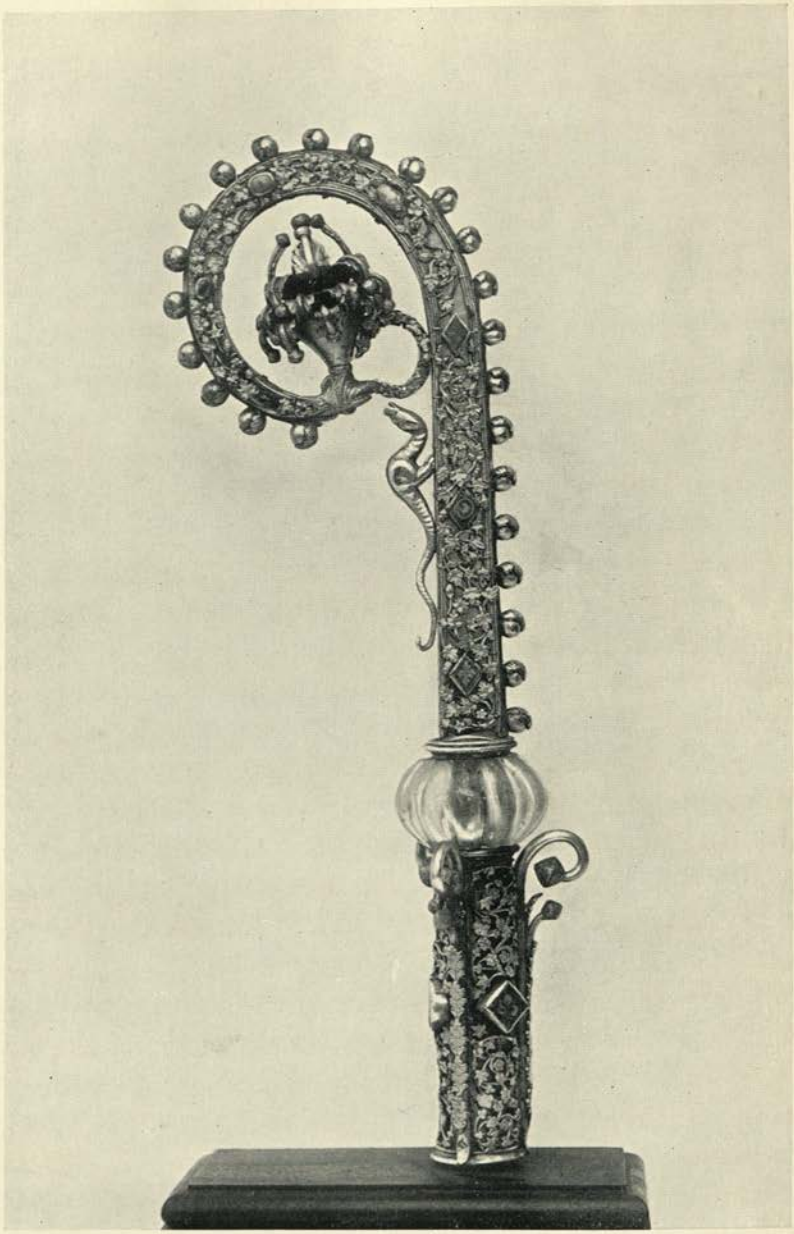


PLATE XXVII

CROSIER, MADE BY BROTHER HUGO OF OIGNIES

CHAPTER XX

CROSIERS

THERE are a large number of these very beautiful insignia of office to be found in our museums; and although we are grateful to those who have given us the opportunity of studying these lovely examples of mediæval art, we cannot but remember that they have only been obtained by the desecration of graves. In France, at least, it was the custom to bury a deceased prelate in all his ecclesiastical robes and garniture, they being entirely personal to himself; and it is somewhat painful to read, in the descriptions given in French museum catalogues of many of these objects, that the authorities were indebted to Monsieur the government architect in charge of the restoration of a cathedral, for having had opened the grave of such and such a bishop, and obtaining the staff and ring which he had deposited in the Louvre or the Hotel Cluny. But we can say nothing, however, in this country, for S. Cuthbert's coffin no longer encloses his bones but it has to be looked for in the Chapter Library of Durham.

These crosiers, which were carried by the bishops or abbots themselves, were, in the Latin Church, all formed in the shape of a shepherd's crook or the frond of a fern, the space within the volute being occupied by a tuft of rich foliage, as in the case of Brother Hugo's crosier (Plate XXVII.), but more generally by a group of figures representing some scriptural subject, such as S. Michael and the Dragon or the Coronation of the Virgin. The crook is generally supposed to be varied in its outline according to the rank of its owner; if an abbot, the twist of

the volute was continuously inward, to signify his rule within his abbey, while that of a bishop gave a twist outward to show that his rule extended from his seat outward over all his diocese; but this rule was by no means invariable, as we shall presently see in some of the examples we have to quote. Beneath the crook was placed a large knop, often very enriched, and below this for a few inches the ornamentation of the crook was continued. The whole of this was generally formed into one piece and was made of the same material, though occasionally the knop was of crystal, as in the Oignies crosier. This head was mounted on a staff of wood, metal or ivory, more or less ornamented, and the whole measured some five to six feet in length.

The crosier of Bishop Bernward, said to be his own handiwork, still remains, and must date from the beginning of the eleventh century. It is of bronze, somewhat rudely sculptured, the volute containing two figures representing the creation of man, and with figures on the knop against the stem, the work generally resembling that of his candlesticks.

The crosier preserved in the museum of Angers, said to have belonged to Robert d'Arbrissel, would, if that be correct, belong to the beginning of the twelfth century. But it is doubtful if it ever belonged to the founder of Fontevrault, as he was certainly never a bishop, and Fontevrault was from the first presided over by an abbess; and if it was found in his grave in the Grand Moutier of the convent in which he was buried in 1117, it must have been placed here rather as a mark of respect than as a sign of office. It is simple in form, the volute being occupied with a figure of S. Michael and the Dragon; and we illustrate a very similar one, attributed to the thirteenth century, in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Plate XXVIII.).

Another abbatial crosier, that of the abbots of Clairvaux, is preserved in the Hotel Cluny, dating somewhere in the twelfth

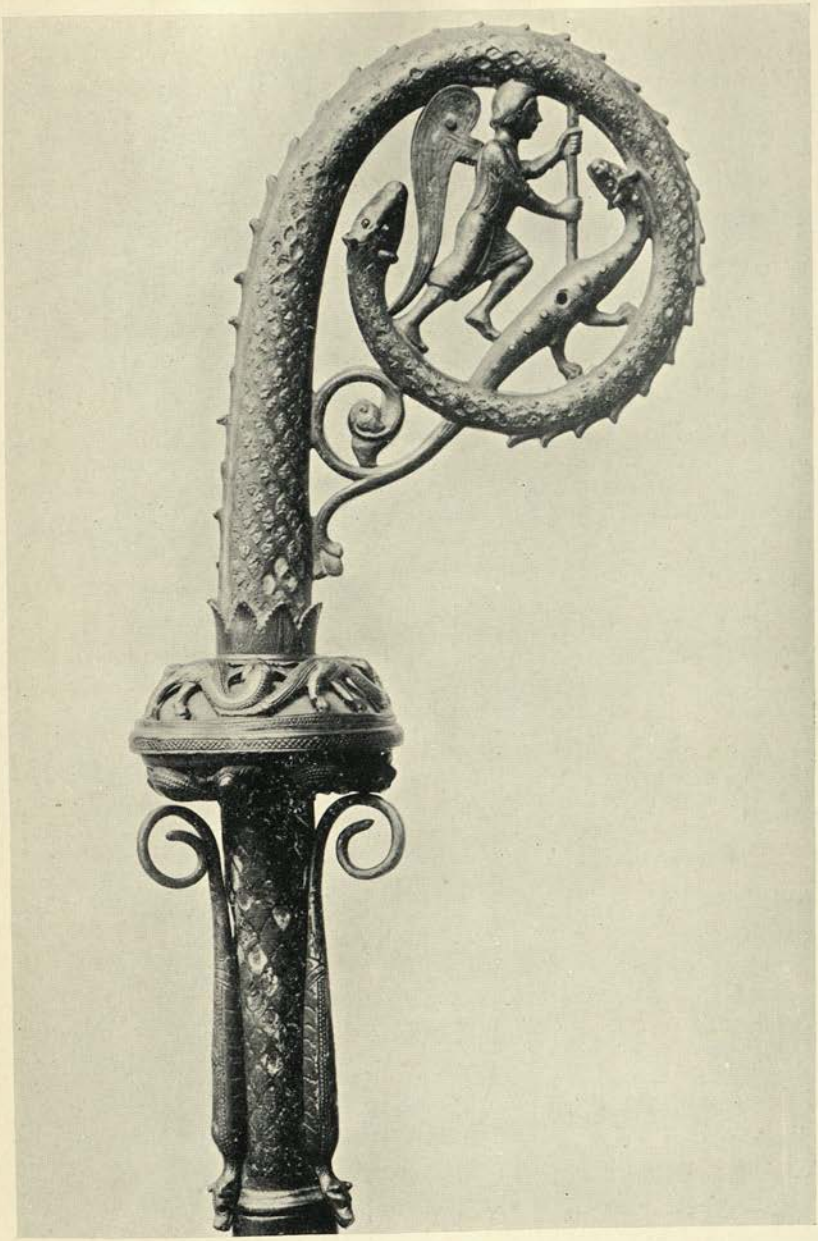


PLATE XXVIII

CROSIER, IN THE V. AND A. MUSEUM

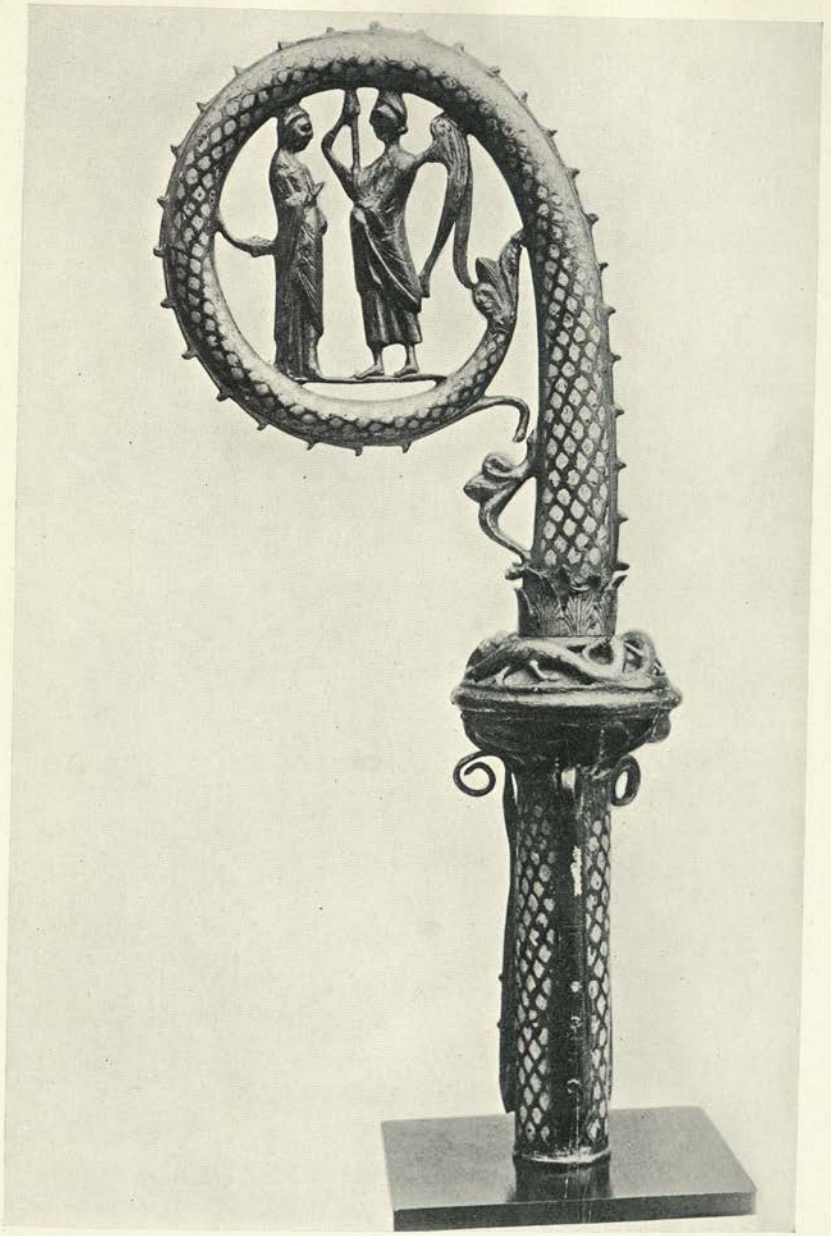


PLATE XXIX

CROSIER, IN THE V. AND A. MUSEUM

century. It is of gilt copper, decorated with gems and enamels, and contains a Crucifixion in the volute.

There are also in the Hotel Cluny three fine episcopal crosiers, all of the twelfth century, which belonged to defunct bishops of Luçon, Bayonne and Carcassonne, whose graves, under official investigation, yielded up these treasures. That of Luçon, which is of copper gilt encrusted with Limoges enamel, has in the volute the usual arrangement of S. Michael and the Dragon, and round the knop grotesque animals in high relief. The Bayonne crosier is similar, but has in the volute on one side our Lord in Benediction between an Alpha and Omega, and on the other side the Virgin and Child enthroned, while the volute terminates in a serpent's head ; the heads of the figures are enamelled and the eyes set with pearls. When the tomb containing this was opened in 1853, the occupant was discovered in the complete episcopal costume of the twelfth century.

The crosier of Carcassonne, which was found by Viollet-le-Duc when he was restoring S. Nazaire, is of gilt bronze with enamel and gems ; the portion below the knop is decorated with grotesques engraved on a blue enamelled ground, and the knop itself bears the figures of the four Evangelists.

The very beautiful crosier made by Brother Hugo in the former half of the thirteenth century, now in the British Museum (Plate XXVII.), is of gilt copper, with very delicate applied floral ornament, with nielloed plaques and stones set *en cabochon ;* and in place of the usual figure subject it has a delicate twist of leaves, and below there is a lizard crawling up the staff as if to look at it. Viollet-le-Duc illustrates in his *Mobilier* a very beautiful crosier of enamelled copper of the former half of the thirteenth century, found in the Church of S. Colombe, Sens, which in the same way contains a floral arrangement in the volute richly enamelled.

Of thirteenth-century French crosiers we have three good

examples in the Victoria and Albert Museum, which we reproduce (Plates XXIX., XXX. and XXXI.). The last of the three shows the coronation of the Virgin and the other two the Annunciation, which is a favourite subject, as there is another similar one in the Hotel Cluny of the same date.

A fine fourteenth-century crosier from the Soltykoff collection in the Hotel Cluny is of bronze, sculptured and gilt. The volute contains the Coronation of the Virgin, and the knop is arcaded in an architectural manner with six figures, among which are SS. Paul and James, and the continuation below, which forms the socket for the staff, is gilt and covered with filigree enriched with gems, the number of which on the whole piece amount to sixty-six. The staff, which is of copper gilt, is enamelled with a lozenge-shaped pattern in relief, and divided into five lengths by little knops; and the total length of the crosier is 6 feet 10 inches.

The very beautiful crosier made by some English goldsmith for William of Wykeham is preserved at New College, Oxford, not having suffered the degradation of burial, as the bishop left it by will to that foundation; and it will well bear comparison with the contemporary French work which we have just described.

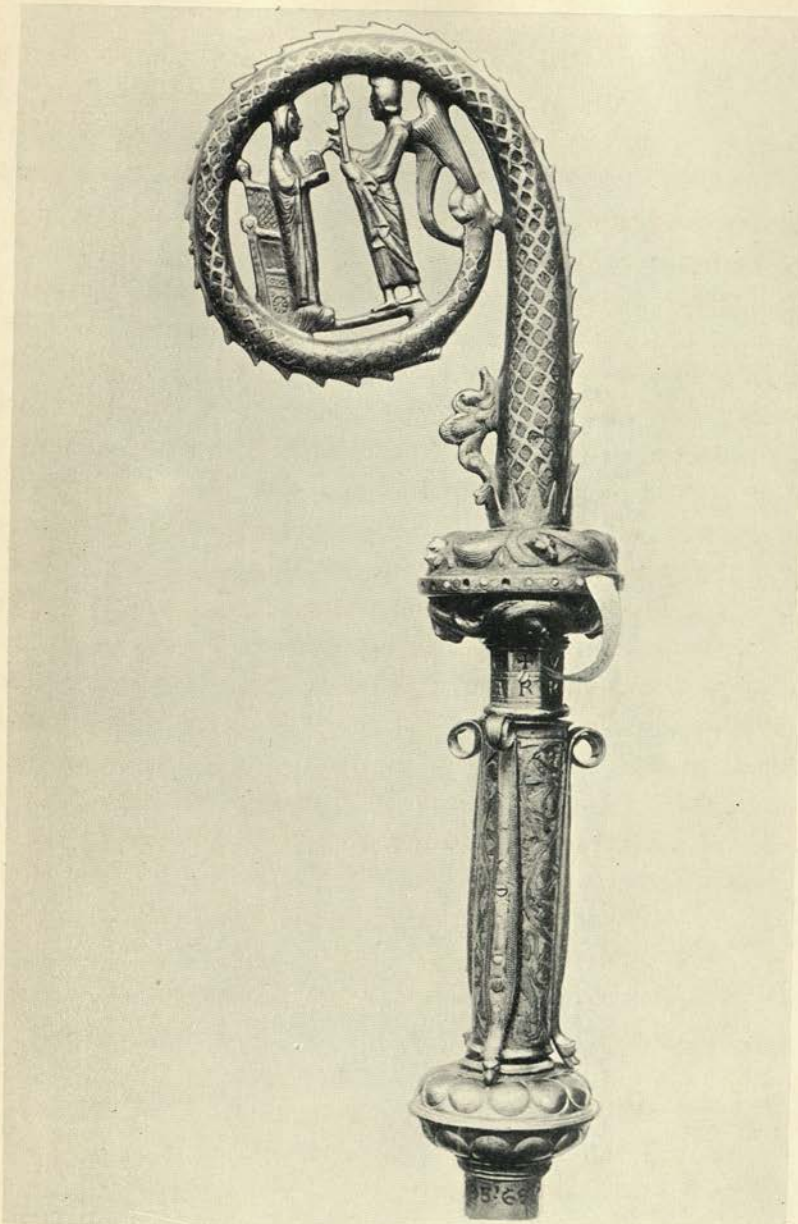


PLATE XXX

CROSIER, IN THE V. AND A. MUSEUM

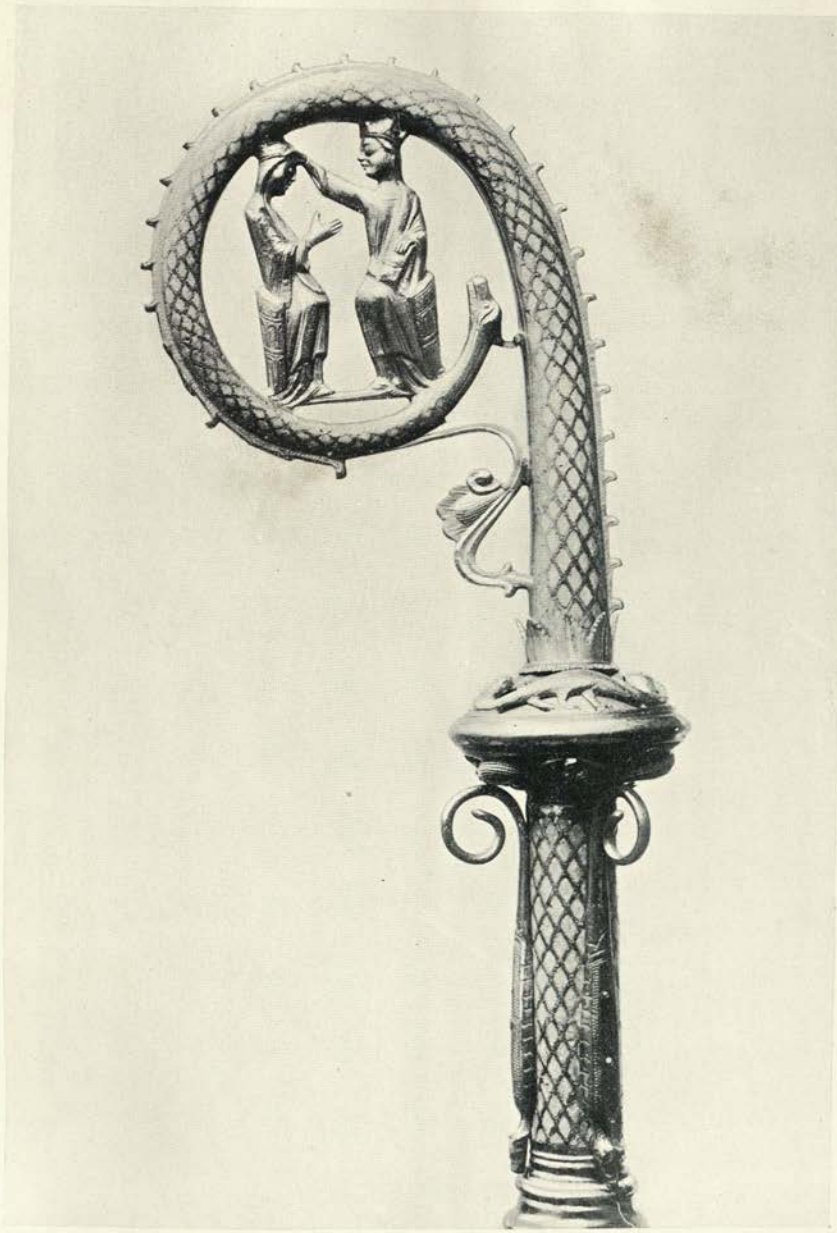


PLATE XXXI

CROSIER, IN THE V. AND A. MUSEUM

CHAPTER XXI

HOLY WATER VATS

THE stoups, which throughout the Middle Ages were placed near the church doors, either in the porches or just within the doors, were successors to the fountain or bason which was always found in the atrium of an ancient church, and which was itself a traditional copy of Solomon's Brazen Sea. Such was the fountain of Pope Symmachus, standing in the atrium of old S. Peter's, which Charlemagne imitated at Aix-la-Chapelle with the bronze pine-cone in the centre; and such is the cantharos still standing in the atrium of S. Cecilia in Trastevere in Rome.

The earliest-known metal receptacle for holy water was the one discovered some time since in a ruined church at Carthage, described by Cabrol in his *Dictionnaire d'archéologie*, and which may perhaps date from the fourth century. It was of lead and decorated with a number of stamped emblems, such as peacocks, as a sign of the Holy Eucharist, and the Good Shepherd, the four rivers of Paradise, and the figure of Silenus, the local divinity; and among these is a Greek inscription which contains the verse from the Psalms used in the liturgy of Baptism and holy water, "hauristis aquas in gaudio," which sufficiently attests to the use for which it was intended.

Most of the earlier stoups have disappeared, but some made in or decorated with the precious metals have been preserved; such are those in the treasury of S. Mark's at Venice, and the one presented by Charlemagne to Aix-la-Chapelle. In the earlier Cluniac churches a stone pedestal was prepared to receive

a movable pail, and we have in England, in the porch of S. Andrew Aukland, a niche and stone base in the south porch, which could have served no other purpose ; but so far as the stoups to be used by the faithful on entering the church are concerned, from the time they began to be made in stone they ceased to be made generally in metal.

As an exception, however, to this rule is the most interesting bronze stoup of the fifteenth century, still preserved at Holland House, Kensington, which was obtained by the fourth Lord Holland in Florence during the time he resided there as the

FIG. 48.—STOUP AT HOLLAND HOUSE, KENSINGTON

English Minister (Fig. 48). It is circular, and measures 1 foot 11½ inches in diameter, and is about 6 inches deep ; at the present time it has a white marble lining, which may perhaps have been fitted to it from the first. Round the slightly moulded rim are two rows of flowing leaf ornament, and between them an inscription which contains the greater part of the verse of the Miserere beginning "Asperges me," which points to the intended use of the object. These three bands are broken at irregular intervals by the insertion of three shields of arms, a roundel which contains a representation of the Crucifixion, and two smaller square panels. The shields of arms of an Italian shape are as follows : the centre one bears in pale a

crosier surmounted by two hands in saltire; the dexter, a lion rampant; and the sinister, two arms embowed in armour in saltire, a chief with some undecipherable bearings. The two small panels have on the one the Virgin and Child beneath a canopy, and on the other a figure of Buddha nimbed in his customary attitude, with the Svastica mark above his head, and over all a canopy as in the other panel. On the lower part of the bowl and below the borders and shields is the date MCCCCLXXXIIII., and the name, presumably of the founder, Maestro Michele Caselli de provincia. Where this curious stoup was made it is difficult to determine, though the character of the ornament and the name are decidedly Italian, but the stamps of the roundel and of the two panels seem to have been very much worn and used before for other purposes. The stamps for the letters, which are of the same sort as those used for bells in northern Europe a century earlier, look somewhat incongruous with the rest of the work; and as the value of "de provincia" after the name is difficult to appreciate, it is impossible to say where the stoup was made.

FIG. 49.—STOUP, ELTENBERG

As to the figure of Buddha on a vessel so evidently meant for Christian uses, Sir George Birdwood has pointed out that, although very curious and perhaps unprecedented, it may yet be accounted for. The intimate association of Venice and Genoa with eastern trade had spread a general knowledge of India throughout mercantile Italy, and the appearance of Buddha on many objects imported from the East was very familiar; moreover, Buddha had himself been introduced into the

Calendar of Christian Saints, and was venerated under the name of S. Joasaphat.

The holy water pail, which was used in certain parts of the services within the church, was always made with a handle for the purpose of carrying it about, and some of the earlier ones recall the Scandinavian pails, to which we have already referred.

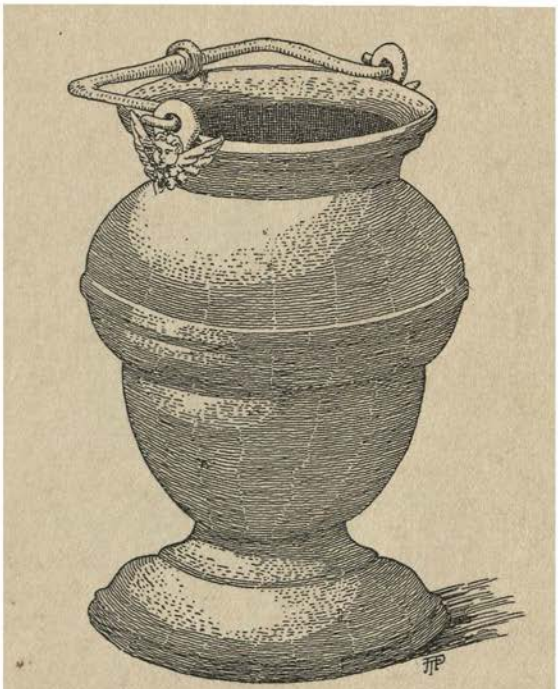


FIG. 50.—STOUP, TOULOUSE

Within the limits imposed by convenience there was a good deal of variety in the designs, as will be seen from the two examples, among many which could be given, the one German, from Eltenberg (Fig. 49), and the other French, from Toulouse (Fig. 50).

It is a curious circumstance, worth mentioning in connection with our subject, that two mortars of cast iron served for a long

time as stoups in the Church of Saint-Père-sous-Vézelay, and may be in use still. They were of great size and very good castings, with a certain amount of ornament, and two rings for lifting them by. They most probably had belonged to the neighbouring abbey of Vézelay.

CHAPTER XXII

LECTERNS

THE metal lecterns which were used for ecclesiastical purposes were of two kinds, the one of light construction intended to be moved about the church during the services, and the other of a heavier character which was intended to occupy a more or less permanent position. The first class included the desks, which were used in the rood-lofts or parts of the chancel from which to read the Gospel or Epistle, and which took the place of the marble ambones, now almost entirely disused, still to be found in so many churches in Rome, central and southern Italy. These movable lecterns, which had necessarily to be made as light as possible in weight, but very strongly framed, were for these reasons usually constructed of wrought iron, and are therefore not included in our subject; but the second class, having to occupy generally a fixed position, could not only be made of greater weight but of a more decorative description, and were almost invariably formed of copper, brass or bronze, although at times of more precious metals.

These fixed lecterns were generally placed in the centres of the choirs to receive the great and sometimes very heavy books from which the chanters, ranged around them, chanted the services; and from the very earliest period of their use of which we have any information the book-desk was placed on the outspread wings of an eagle. No doubt the first suggestion was due to the fact that this symbol, which was peculiar to S. John the Evangelist, had been always used to support the desks of the Italian Gospel ambones not made under direct

Greek influence ; and it further seemed specially suitable to the singers' desk, since as the eagle in its flight soared towards the sky, so the chanters' voices sought to reach the highest heavens. But although this symbolic use of the eagle has lasted to the present day, so that "eagle" and "lectern" have become almost interchangeable terms in ecclesiology, the special significance seems to have become somewhat blurred in the Middle Ages, so that we find other birds, and occasionally even grotesques, were substituted, such as the pelican in its piety, the gryphon, the winged lion, and the double-headed eagle.

The earliest eagle lectern of which we have any account was the one carried off by King Dagobert from the Church of S. Hilary, when he raided Poitiers, and which he gave to his newly founded abbey of S. Denis. It was of copper and enriched with figures of the four Evangelists, and its fabrication was always attributed to S. Eloy ; but we know that it was regilt and perhaps very considerably restored by Abbot Suger when he rebuilt the abbey church in the twelfth century. The silver lecterns given in the ninth century to the old basilica of S. Peter's, Rome, by Popes Leo III. and Leo IV. do not seem to have been in the form of eagles, since the latter is distinctly mentioned as having a lion's head on the top of it ; and the eagle form of desk to the lecterns does not reappear until well into the mediæval period.

English lecterns of an earlier date than the fifteenth century are rare, and are generally of a very simple type, consisting of a single shaft banded round with one or two moulded bands of considerable projection, standing on a wide-spreading base, which sometimes rests on feet formed of lions ; on the shaft is an orb, on which stands an eagle, whose wide-spreading wings bear the book-desk. That there were occasionally eagle lecterns before the fifteenth century we know, as in an account of the ornaments of Salisbury Cathedral, dated 1214, mention is made of *Tuellia una ad lectricum aquilæ*, and Bloxam speaks of the representation of

one drawn in the Louterell Psalter, written about 1300. Indeed the present lectern of Norwich Cathedral may perhaps belong to the middle of the fourteenth century, but it differs so much from the ordinary English type that it has been suggested, with some reason, that it may be of Flemish manufacture. It has, however, undergone a great deal of restoration, due to its having been for long buried beneath the church floor, which saved it from the Puritan raid on the cathedral in 1643; and the three figures placed round the shaft, as well as other portions, are certainly modern.

Fine examples of the usual English type of eagle lectern may be seen, among many others too numerous to mention, in the churches of Holy Rood, Southampton; S. Margaret, King's Lynn; Holy Trinity, Coventry; S. Peter, Oundle; and S. Gregory, Norwich, which bears the date of 1496. Although, for reasons connected with its known history, there is considerable doubt as to where it was made, the eagle lectern in the Church of S. Stephen, S. Albans, which we illustrate (Fig. 51), may be taken as a good example of the ordinary English type. It is extremely simple both in its outline and its mouldings, and might be taken to belong to the middle of the fifteenth century but for the inscription engraved round the central band, which reads, "*Georgius Creichton Episcopus Dunkeldensis.*" This George Creichton only became Bishop of Dunkeld in 1522, and presented this lectern to the Abbey of Holyrood in memory of the fact that he had been previously its abbot; and as it is exceedingly improbable, though possible, that he should have presented a lectern already used, in fact second-hand, we must conclude that it is of sixteenth-century manufacture.

There were a great many wooden lecterns made in England with simple sloping desks without eagles, such as the well-known example of Blythburgh in Suffolk; and these, so far as the form of the desk was concerned, became occasionally copied in brass,

as in the case of the very fine one at Merton College, Oxford, which appears to have been made in the sixteenth century.

There is a remarkable absence of metal lecterns in France, a circumstance which seems the more curious when we remember that the first authentic account we have of a copper eagle connected it with two French abbeys; but all such things were destroyed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. We have, however, already referred to one which remains in the Church of S. Léonard at Honfleur, manufactured at Villedieu-les-Poels in 1791.

Although there are no very early examples of metal lecterns in Belgium, there are, as might be anticipated, a great number altogether; but at the same time, though the eagle type is the one most commonly found, there are a great many variations from it. One of the most beautiful of the eagle lecterns is that in the Church of Our Lady and S. Martin at Hal, of which we give an illustration (Plate XXXII.). It may date from the middle of the fifteenth century, and consists of a central hexagonal buttressed shaft, which received three flying buttresses standing

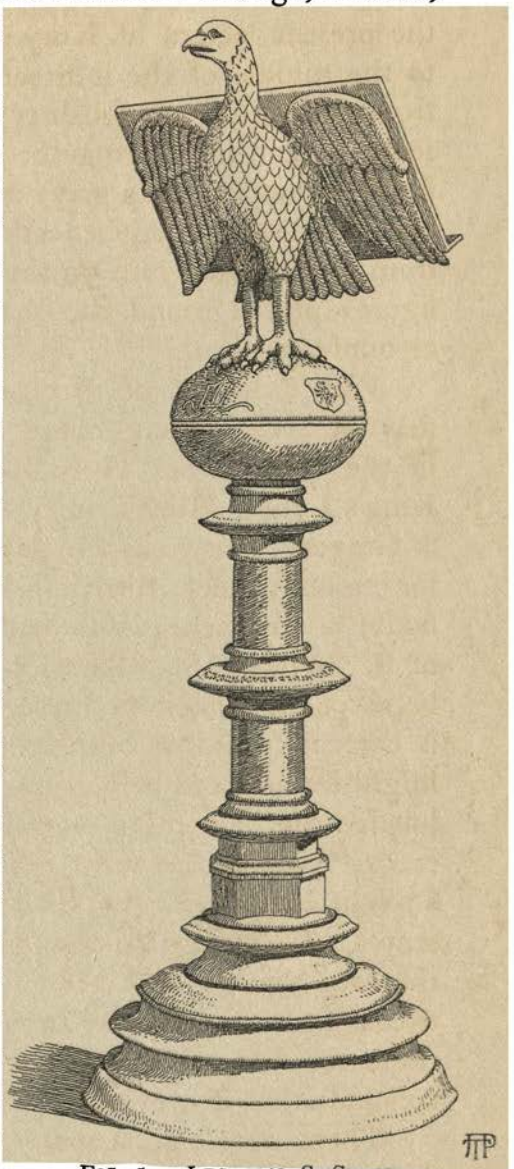


FIG. 51.—LECTERN, S. STEPHEN, S. ALBANS

on lions. The top of the shaft is richly embattled, and from its centre rises an orb, which works on a pivot, supporting an eagle whose extended wings bear a book-rest beautifully worked in open tracery. At S. Nicholas, Tournay, is an eagle dated 1483, and at Chièvres, near Ath, is another dated 1484; but perhaps the most beautiful as well as one of the earliest is that of Notre Dame, at Tongres, to which we have already alluded. It is signed by Joses of Dinant, who was working on another piece in the same church in 1360, and in its arrangements it is unique. It is supported by a triangular base resting on three lions, and from this rises a three-sided turret, with flying buttresses, carrying a globe on which is an eagle with outstretched wings trampling on a monster, and the ledge of the book-stand is formed of two salamanders.

FIG. 52.—LECTERN, S. GERMAIN, TIRLEMONT

The lectern of Ardenne has a winged lion holding a book-desk in its front paws; but the best of these variations from the eagle type is to be found in the lectern of S. Germain at Tirlemont. As will be seen by our illustration (Fig. 52), the

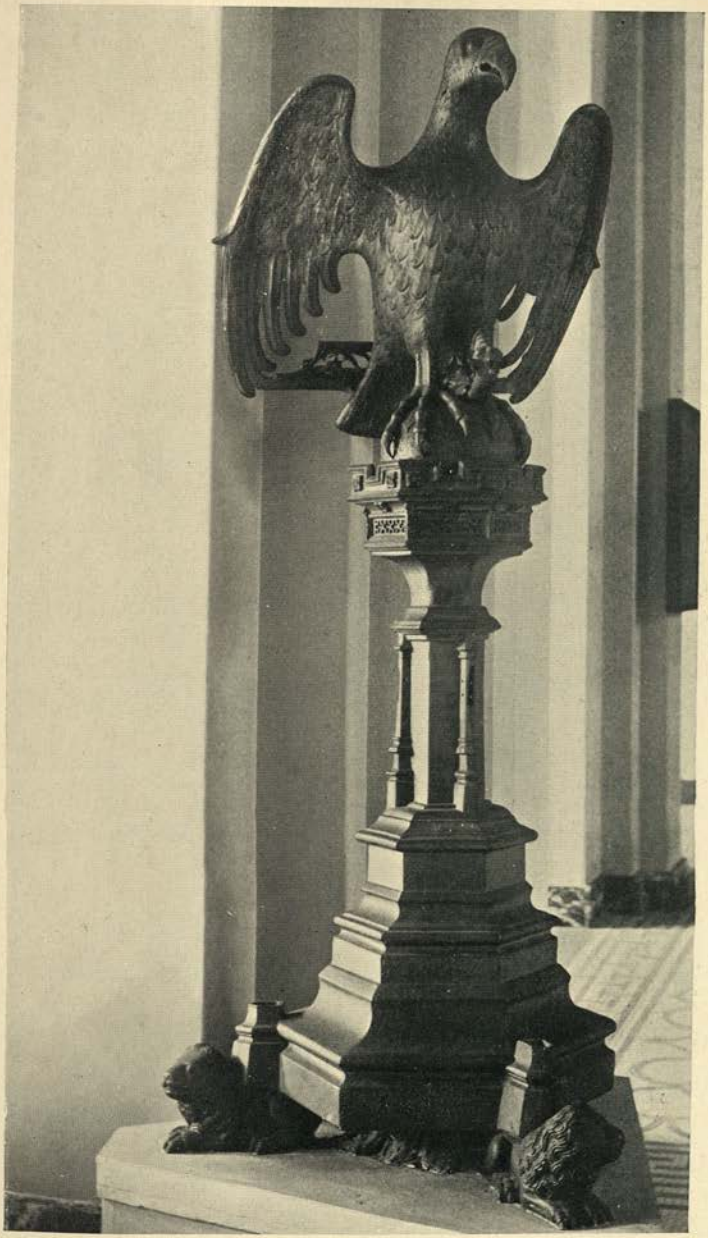


PLATE XXXII

LECTERN, S. MARTIN, HAL

book-desk is supported on the outstretched wings of a pelican in its piety, standing on an orb which was once surrounded by battlements, but these were knocked off and the lectern considerably damaged when Tirlemont was sacked by the French in 1635. The lectern of Louvain Cathedral, which was considered even more beautiful, was sold, with two fine coronas, about sixty years ago, and is now in the Church of S. Mary Oscott at Birmingham.

There are, perhaps, not so many lecterns remaining in Germany as might be expected, considering the great quantity of other metal work yet to be found in the churches, nor have the few existing specimens any remarkable excellence. At Aix-la-Chapelle is a brass eagle of the fourteenth century, having three outer clusters of pinnacles with flying buttresses and open tracery, all rising from a multangular base, while a further stage of buttresses and tracery support the orb with an eagle, and on the eagle's wings is placed a bat which forms the book-rest. There are brass eagles in S. Maria im Capitol and S. Severin in Cologne, but of no particular merit.

Mediæval lecterns in Italy are rare ; but in San Ambrogio, Milan, a brass eagle desk was added to the marble ambone at some time subsequent to its erection, perhaps at its restoration after the fall of the roof. At Venice there are at least four brass lecterns, of which one is in the Armenian Church of S. Lazzaro, and another at S. Stefano, which stands on a triangular base. The brass eagle of S. Mark's has had, like several other lecterns we have mentioned, many adventures. It was brought to Venice from Corfu in 1669 by the captain of the ship *Speranza*, who appears to have said it came from Rhodes. It is a fine piece of work, standing some 6 feet high, the shaft being circular, with several moulded bands, and the circular base standing on three lions. Its appearance suggests a Flemish origin ;

though how it got so far east as the Levant it is difficult

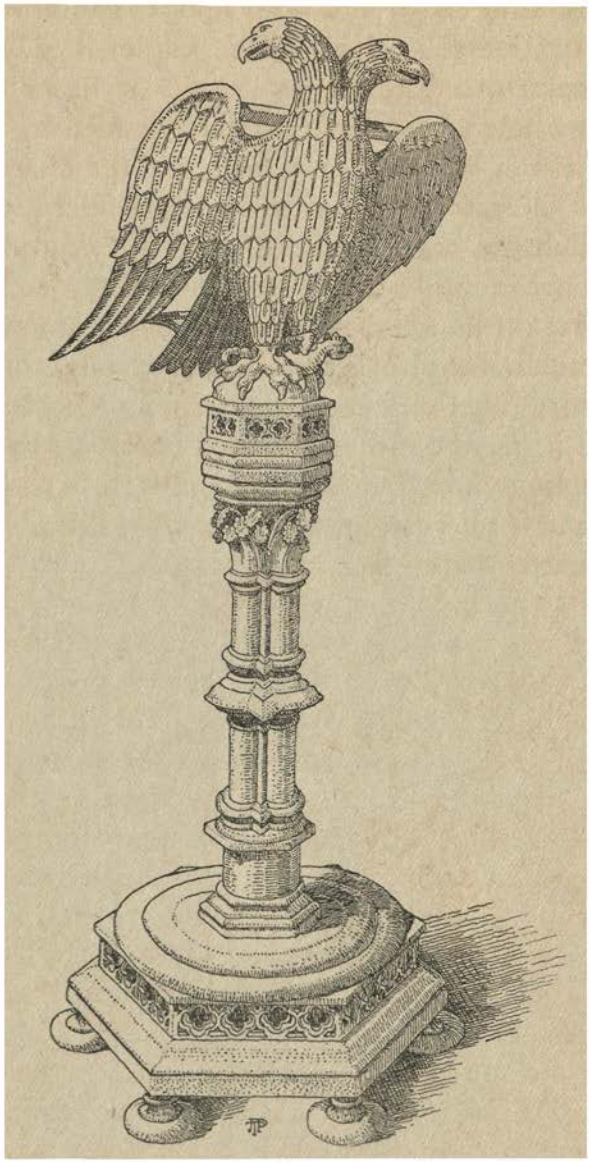


FIG. 53.—LECTERN, SS. GIOVANNI E PAOLO, VENICE

to say, unless it belonged to one of the churches of Candia.

A more interesting eagle, on account of the novelty of the type, is in the Church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, of which we give an illustration (Fig. 53). The eagle is double-headed, standing on an orb, and holding a dragon or lizard between its talons. The whole lectern stands some 7 feet in height, and the arrangement of the base and shaft and the character of the work seem to indicate an early date; but the church in which it stands, which was one of the principal burying-places for the Doges, was only in building in the fourteenth century. The suggestion that the double-headed eagle implies some association with the German Empire is hardly a good one, for at no time in their history did the Venetians show any fondness for that empire; and it may be rather intended to typify the wide sway of the Republic, whose Doges, after the sack of Constantinople by the Crusaders, took the proud title of "Lord of a quarter and half a quarter of the Roman Empire."

CHAPTER XXIII

BOOK-COVERS

THE Gospel and great service books used in the churches were frequently bound in covers decorated with plates of gold, silver, or gilded copper, and encrusted with enamels and gems, and many examples are preserved in our museums. There is one in the Louvre which formed a cover to the Gospel, a work of the eleventh century, having in the central panel the Crucifixion, with the Virgin and S. John, all in repoussé metal; in the four corners are the evangelistic symbols in champléve enamel, and the remainder of the wide border is jewelled with cameos and stones set *en cabochon* on a metal background.

There are two fine examples in the Hotel Cluny of thirteenth-century work of copper, gilt and repoussé, with incrustations of Limoges enamel. Of these in one case there is only one cover preserved, which shows Christ enthroned, with His right hand in benediction and His left holding the book of Truth, surrounded by the four evangelistic symbols, and below the Holy Spirit floating over the clouds.

The other example has the two covers, of which one shows our Lord within an aureole, crowned, and with His right hand in benediction, and His left holding a book, on which are written Alpha and Omega, and above are the evangelistic symbols. The background is decorated with repoussé work and enamel, and the figures themselves are in relief and enamel; the border has bands of ornament and enamel. The other cover shows the Crucifixion, with our Lord crowned, and above His head the hand of the Eternal Father with the fingers extended in the act

PLATE XXXIII

BOOK-COVER, IN THE V. AND A. MUSEUM

of blessing, the figure being in relief and enamelled. Above the cross are floating angels; and the background and the arms of the cross are decorated with stones and ornaments in enamel.

In the Victoria and Albert Museum is a very beautiful book-cover, which we reproduce (Plate XXXIII.), made up of a great number of small pieces of metal attached to the backing with rivets. The border consists of sixteen squares of cloisonné enamel, the corner and centre ones of which have large stones set *en cabochon*. In the centre, and enclosed by another border in lengths and also jewelled, is a figure of our Lord enthroned.

The leather-covered volumes were frequently strengthened by metal bands or bosses, gilt and chased, of which some early examples may be seen in the Chapter Library at Durham Cathedral.

CHAPTER XXIV

FONTS

THERE are perhaps as many as fifty brass fonts of mediæval manufacture remaining in Europe which have survived the vicissitudes of the last four centuries, but they are, curiously enough, confined to a comparatively limited area. The use of metal at all for the purpose is in itself remarkable; but in all probability it was due either to the absence of suitable stone in the localities where they were required, or the habit of using metal for all important ecclesiastical furniture among the people who produced them. Practically all the fonts we have remaining made of brass or bronze are of Flemish or German manufacture; and it is only in Germany, the Netherlands, and Scandinavia that they are to be found. They do not appear ever to have been made either in France or England; and although there was one at S. Albans, stolen from Holyrood Abbey in Scotland, it seems to have been originally brought from the Netherlands.

Perhaps the earliest font of metal still in existence is the one to be found in the Cathedral of Bremen, which is said to date back to the ninth century; and the aspect of the work, and the rude character of the four figures mounted on lions which support the bowl, accord with this theory. Bremen, which had been founded by Charlemagne, became the seat of the Archbishop of Hamburg, who removed here in the ninth century, so that the font might be contemporary with that event; and the fact that the great sandy wastes round the city,

which stretch across that part of Germany, produce no stone but the rough boulder granite, made metal the best available material for the font.

The first metal font which can lay claim to any artistic beauty is the one at S. Bartholomew, Liége, which we have already described. There was not in this case the same necessity for the use of metal, as plenty of suitable marble could have been easily procured in the limestone cliffs around; but as we have seen, the habit of working in metal had already become customary in the Mosan valley, and it was from choice and with special intent that brass was selected as the material for this font. The fashion thus set was followed during the next four centuries, and a special manufacture of metal fonts in certain localities became established, and we find that they were exported to distant places much as were the fonts of black Tournay stone during the previous century.

The first brass font to be made after the one at Liége, still remaining, was that of S. Germain of Tirlemont, now preserved in the Brussels Museum. It was much damaged in the troubles which befell the town, and now only the bowl of the original font is left—the octagonal base with the couchant lions being a stone addition of a later period. The bowl is circular, shaped like a wine-glass, having round the upper part an arcading in low relief, with spiral columns and semicircular arches, enclosing panels with various scriptural subjects, such as the Baptism of Christ, below which an inscribed band gives the date of its manufacture as 1149. The lower part of the bowl is divided into four panels containing carved foliage, the whole being perhaps more interesting than beautiful.

In the Marienkirche at Rostock is a brass font which is perhaps, after Bremen, the oldest in Germany, the date usually assigned to it being 1200. It is supported on four kneeling figures representing the elements, and is covered with eighteen

scenes in relief from the life of our Lord, accompanied with inscriptions in Latin and Low German.

The next metal font of importance is the famous one in the Cathedral of Hildesheim (Plate XXXIV.), a work of the Saxon School, presented to the church by one of its canons, named Wilburgis, during the former half of the thirteenth century. In form it resembles the little circular enamelled *custodes* which were so common at that date, except that its contours show graceful curves and that it is elevated on half-kneeling figures. A large number of legends are engraved on bands about the bowl and cover relating to the intricate iconography, the more important of which we will transcribe, and explain the various subjects with which the work is covered in relief. The four supporting figures, which are nearly nude, are intended to be emblematic of the four rivers of Paradise, which are shown to be flowing out from the jars they hold inverted. On the lowest band of the bowl and directly above their heads run these four inscriptions :—

✠ TEMPERIEM GEON TERRE DESIGNAT HIATVS.
✠ EST VELOX TIGRIS QVO FORTIS SIGNIFICATVR.
✠ FRVGIFER EVFRATES EST IVSTICIA QVE NOTATVS
✠ OS MVTANS PHISON EST PRVDENTI SIMILATVS

Round the upper band of the bowl run these four legends :—

✠ QVATVOR IRRORANT PARADISI FLVMINA MVNDVM.
✠ VIRTVTES QVE RIGANT TOTIDEM COR CRIMINE MVNDVM.
✠ ORA PROPHETARVM QVE VATICINATA FVERVNT.
✠ HEC RATA SCRIPTORES EWANGELII CECINERVNT ✠

and round the lowest rim of the cover :—

✠ MVNDAT VT IMMVNDA SACRI BAPTISMATIS VNDA SIC IVSTE FVSVS SANGVIS LAVACHRI TENET VSVS — POST LAVAT ATTRACTA LACRIMIS CONFESSIO FACTA—CRIMINE FEDATIS LAVACHRVM FIT OPVS PIETATIS ✠

PLATE XXXIV

FONT, HILDESHEIM

On the bowl immediately above the supporting figures are small circles with busts representing the four virtues, their names being engraved round the circles, starting with Prudence over Phison, Temperance over Geon, Courage over Tigris and Justice over Euphrates. Again over these roundels are similar medallions containing busts of the Prophets Isaiah, Jeremiah, Daniel and Ezechiel—Isaiah being over Phison and Prudence, and the others in the same order. These medallions are supported on small columns, and from the medallions spring bands arranged in the form of trefoil arches, making four large panels round the sides of the bowl, each containing a subject in high relief. These are :—

(1) Between Phison and Geon : the seated figure of the Blessed Virgin, crowned and holding the Infant, and on her right hand stands a figure in a mitre and holding a crosier, supposed to represent Wilbernus, the donor of the font ; and on the band over the panel is inscribed :—

✠ WILBERNVS VENIE SPE DAT LAVDIQVE MARIE
HOC DECVS ECCLESIE SVSCIPE CHRISTE PIE.

(2) Between Geon and Tigris : the children of Israel crossing the Red Sea, with inscription above :—

PER MARE PER MOYSEN FVGIT EGIPTVM GENVS HORVM
PER CHRISTVM LAVACHRO FVGIMVS TENEBRAS VITIORVM.

(3) Between Tigris and Euphrates : the Baptism of Christ, the water rising curiously in front of Him. S. John is on His right hand, and attendant angels holding napkins on His left, and the Dove immediately over His head.

HIC BAPTIZATVR CHRISTVS QVO SANCTIFICATVR
NOBIS BAPTISMA TRIBVENS IN FLAMINE CRISMA.

(4) Between Euphrates and Phison : the Israelites passing

over Jordan with the Ark of the Covenant under the direction of Joshua.

AD PATRIAM IOSVE DVCE FLVMEN TRANSIT HEBREVS
DVCIMER AB VITAM TE DVCE FONTE DEVS

The spandrels of these arches are filled with the four evangelistic symbols, that of S. Matthew being above Phison.

Unlike so many font covers that are made of wood and of a later date than the font to which they belong, this is of the same material, and carries on the same scheme of iconography. The cover is hinged to the bowl, the hinge occurring over the scene of the Baptism, and the fastening is over the head of the crowned Virgin ; and to each side of the bowl, between them, are large rings so that it can be lifted.

The cover is divided into four panels with trefoiled arches containing subjects in relief in this order, beginning over the panel of the crowned Virgin, thus: (1) Aaron with his budding rod assuming the priesthood ; (2) The Slaughter of the Innocents ; (3) Mary washing the feet of Jesus ; and (4) Performing Acts of Mercy. Round the arches are explanatory legends and some other figures, and the cover finishes with a knop of foliage and a crown.

Belonging to the same century, but a little later, is the fine brass font of the Cathedral of Würtzburg, which is circular, and divided into eight panels, showing the Annunciation, Nativity, Baptism, Crucifixion, Resurrection, Ascension, Pentecost and a Majesty ; and round it an inscription stating that it was given by one Walter in the year 1279 in the sixth year of the reign of Rudolf, King of the Romans, and the fifth of Bishop Bertholdo von Sterrenberg's episcopate.

In the next century the brass fonts become more numerous and show more architectural detail. One type, of which there were several varieties, was that of an octagonal bowl arcaded

round with figures placed singly in the panels, of which the best examples are the two to be found in the Marienkirche,

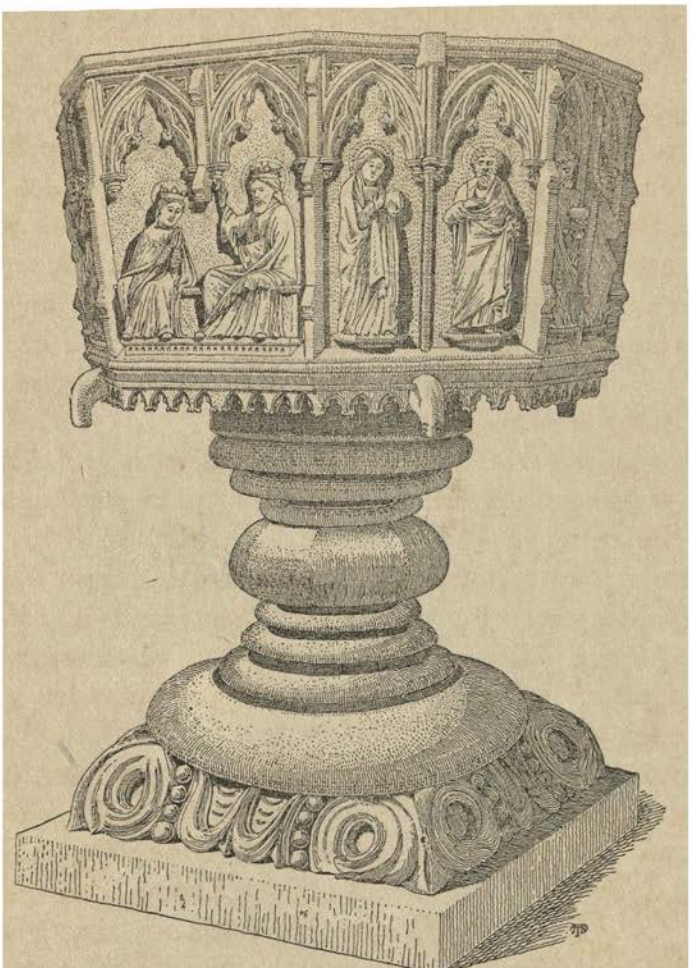


FIG. 54.—FONT, LINKÖPING

Lubeck, and the Cathedral of Linköping, Sweden. They are almost identical, and were, no doubt, made by the same man and about the same time, which we know was, in the case of

Lubeck, 1335. Our sketch (Fig. 54) of the one at Linköping will sufficiently explain their character, though unfortunately in

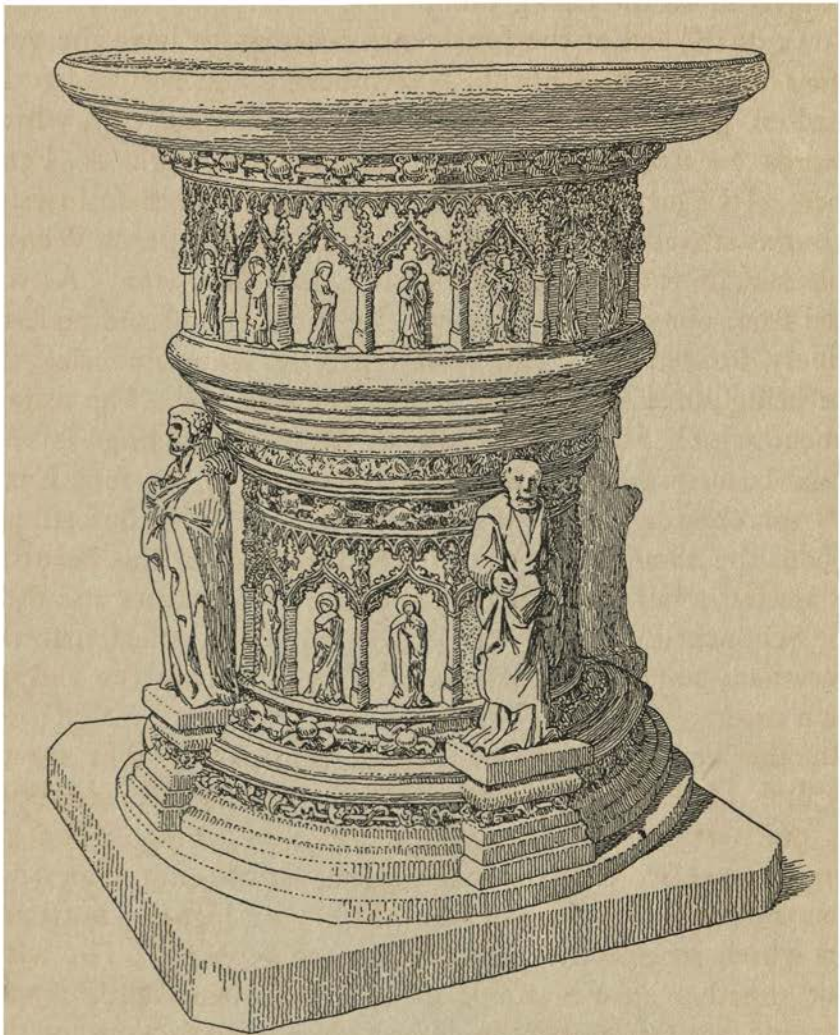


FIG. 55.—FONT, SEBALDSKIRCHE, NUREMBERG

this case the original pedestal has been destroyed, and the present one is made up of fragments found when this beautiful cathedral

was restored. Both the figures and the mouldings of the arches are very finely worked, and the nimbi behind the heads have been engraved on the background.

Towards the end of the fourteenth century we have the very rich font of S. Sebald's Church, Nuremberg ; and it is said to be the earliest piece of bronze casting made in that city, which afterwards became so famous for the bronze work of Peter Vischer. Its exact date is not recorded, and it bears no inscription, but as it was used for the baptism of the Emperor Wenzel of Bohemia, in 1361, it must be earlier than that date. As will be seen from our drawing (Fig. 55), both the bowl and pedestal are finely arcaded all round with buttresses and pinnacles, the spaces being filled in with little figures of saints. The foliage ornament which fills in the hollows of the mouldings is very rich and beautifully modelled, and the statues of the four Evangelists surrounding the pedestal very bold. It is unfortunate that both the name of the sculptor and founder of this beautiful work are lost ; but the similarity between these statues and those of the Schönebrunnen erected in the middle of the fourteenth century have suggested that Sebald Schonhofer was the sculptor in each case.

In the next century we find a remarkable font in the Cathedral of Louvain, perhaps more curious than beautiful (Fig. 56). It consists of a six-lobed bason of a bulging contour, having an open-work hexagonal pedestal on six curved legs resting on the backs of lions, and from the curved legs rise buttressed shafts which receive the projections of the basons. The whole is put together in a number of separate pieces with rebated joints, and appears to be the design of an architect rather than of a sculptor. It is not for a moment to be compared with the, perhaps, contemporary work of Hal, which we have already described, where both the font and cover are so rich in imagery.

In the following century we have two very interesting brass

fonts in Brunswick, one in S. Martin's, dated 1441, and the other in S. Ulrick's, or the Brüdernkirche, dated 1450. Both bear a great deal of sculpture, the latter being supported on the four

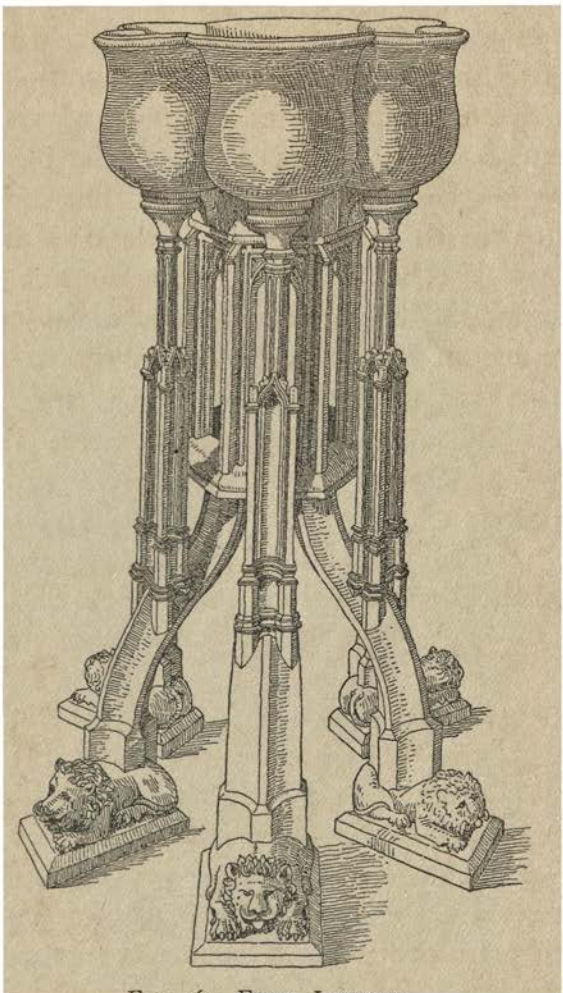


FIG. 56.—FONT, LOUVAIN

rivers of Paradise, and having sixteen panels in relief representing the apostles and saints. The Cathedral of Bois-le-Duc, in Holland, has a fine brass font and cover dated 1492, which is

adorned with well-modelled figures representing the cripples at the Pool of Bethesda.

In the sixteenth century the brass fonts become almost too numerous to particularise. In the Marienkirche of Dantzig, there is one cast in 1554 in the Netherlands; while there are no less than five in the churches of Cologne—in S. Alban, S. Columba, S. John Baptist, dated 1566, S. Maria im Capitol, dated 1594, and S. Peter, dated 1569. That of S. Maria is circular, resting on four lions, and has on the cover S. Martin dividing his cloak with a beggar, with the date and the name of the maker, H. Wechrat. The circular font of S. Columba's has the base supported by three half-lions, and there are shields of arms on the bason, while on the top of the cover is a group representing the Baptism of Christ.

CHAPTER XXV

EWERS AND WATER VESSELS

In the days before forks were commonly used, water at table for washing purposes was in frequent requisition, and we find during the Middle Ages a great many vessels of very various shapes were employed to contain it. The earliest forms were bottle-shaped ewers, with or without a lid or spout, but generally furnished with a cover. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries it was the fashion to make them like lions or other beasts with an orifice, and sometimes with a spout, out of which the water was poured, and with a little lid covering the opening by which it was filled, generally concealed by some arrangement in the design. These beast-shaped ewers, from being generally used for hand-washing purposes, were called aquamanilles. The ewers, whatever their shape, were always accompanied by a deep metal dish to be used for the ablutions, put together much as are the domestic jug and bason of the present day. These dishes were frequently made double, the upper one fitted with a lip so that the water could be poured from one into the other, whence they acquired the name of gemellions.

The ordinary ewer form was used throughout the mediæval period for water, ale and spiced wine, and a great many of the large jugs used for this purpose, made in brass or bronze, have survived, and may be found in our museums; and in their ornamentation and lettering they are similar to the mortars, bells and other castings of the period. We have already related the adventures of one such jug, brought home by the Ashanti expedition. It is formed with a lip and loose cover, like a modern

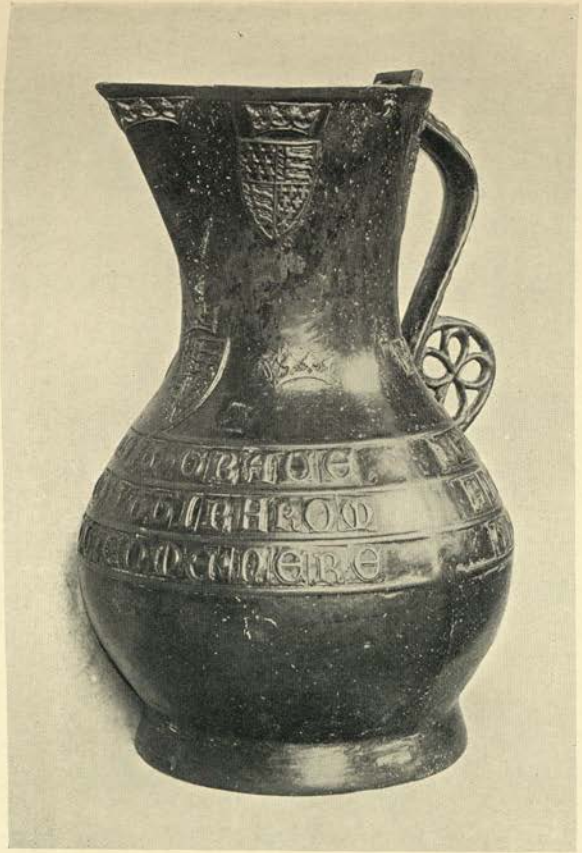


PLATE XXXV

BRONZE EWER, IN THE V. AND A. MUSEUM

CISTERN, FROM AUGSBURG

hot-water jug, and round the belly runs an inscription in Gothic letters which may be rendered thus :—

"He that will not spare when he may
Shall not spend when he would.
Deem the best in every doubt
Till the truth be tried out."

It stands some 2 feet in height, and bears in relief the arms of England and the badge of Richard II.

In the Victoria and Albert Museum is a very similar jug in bronze of about the date of 1350 (Plate XXXV.), which came from a manor-house in Norfolk, and bears round the rim, repeated several times, the old royal arms of England, and round the belly in Gothic letters this inscription: "Goddes grace be to this place. Amen. Stond utter (stand away) from the fyre and lat onjust (let one just) come nere."

There was a peculiar form of brass ewer with a spout, sometimes with two spouts, and a handle of a dragon-like creature, common in the fifteenth century, of which we give two examples from South Kensington (Plate XXXVI.).

The aquamanilles, formed in the shape of beasts, had an almost endless variety, not only imitating the appearance of known animals, but copied from the indescribable creatures with which the "beastiaries" of the Middle Ages were replete. At times, however, some attempt to imitate nature was made, and not unsuccessfully, as in the very fine aquamanille in the British Museum in the form of a mounted knight in full armour, which was found near Hexham, and is assumed to be English work of the early fourteenth century. It may be mentioned that this figure and many others of the aquamanilles which aim at imitating nature, singularly resemble in style much of the brass casting which is carried on to this day at Vizagapatam in southern India, as is shown by the illustrations in Sir

George Birdwood's *Industrial Arts of India*. Of these animal-shaped ewers we give three in the form of lions from the Victoria and Albert Museum (Plate XXXVII.), one German of the fourteenth century, and another Flemish of the fifteenth

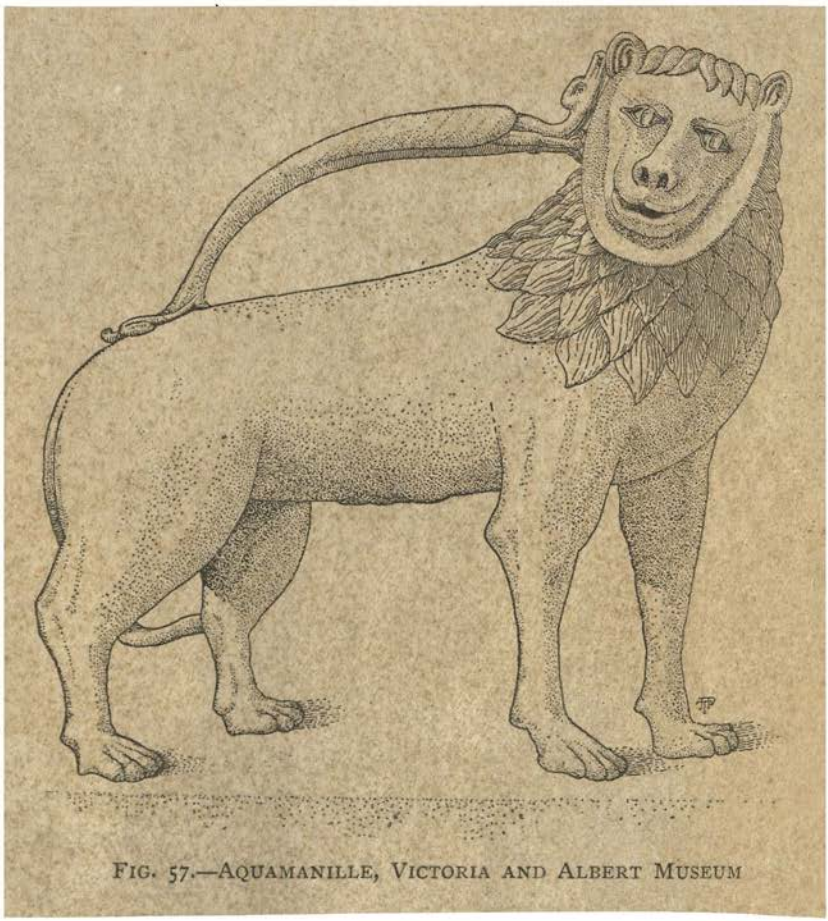


FIG. 57.—AQUAMANILLE, VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM

century, and a third (Fig. 57), which has its head so twisted that it must have been difficult to pour straight from its mouth; and a fourth, of a man mounted on a lion, German work of the fourteenth century, from the British Museum (Plate XXIV.). It will be noticed with these unmounted beasts a handle was

PLATE XXXVI

BRASS EWERS, IN THE V. AND A. MUSEUM

PLATE XXXVII

AQUAMANILLES, IN THE V. AND A. MUSEUM

formed by placing something else on their backs, generally of a dragon or lizard form, or, in the case of lions, giving their tails an extra twist.

In the Hotel Cluny is an aquamanille of a wholly different character to these last, being made in the form of a human head, treated quite naturally so far as the features are concerned, with the orifice from which the water was poured arranged as an ornament on the forehead, and the handle as a dragon clinging to the hair behind; the effect of the whole is, however, unpleasing.

It may be mentioned that these aquamanilles have been for long past, on account of their quaintness, favourite subjects for the collectors, with the result that they have been forged to an enormous extent, and many are "picked up" which are comparatively worthless. It does not follow that the modern ones are not as good as the ancient, as witness the Indian productions, but it is not worth while to pay the extra price asked for them on account of their sham antiquity.

There is another form of water vessel known as a fountain or cistern, which was usually placed near the entrance to a dining-hall, from which water could be drawn for hand-washing before dinner, and which were for that purpose furnished with a tap. This feature was occasionally affixed to the large aquamanilles, and in the Hotel Cluny is one in the form of a horse, with the usual dragon handle for lifting it by, but with a tap placed in the centre of the horse's chest. But the larger cisterns were as a rule fixed against a wall, and they were generally given some more or less architectural form. There is a particularly interesting one of this description in the Victoria and Albert Museum of bronze, which we reproduce (Plate XXXV.), of fifteenth-century work from Augsburg, which bears the arms of the Fuggers, the famous bankers of that city, and must have belonged to them.

CHAPTER XXVI

BRONZE DOORS

ALTHOUGH bronze as a material presents so many attractions to the spoiler, we are fortunate in retaining to this day some sixty-four sets of metal doors which have escaped through the centuries the vicissitudes of war, turbulence and neglect. Many of those which survive and are still in use have been shifted about, and have now to be looked for in buildings for which they were never intended ; but we have no record of the wanton destruction of any save those of S. Denis, which in the eighteenth century were sacrificed to a mere freak of fashion. A list which we give at the end of this chapter shows, approximately in their order of date, the doors now remaining and made before the close of the mediæval period, together with the names of their founders or designers, and the countries which produced them.

We have already noticed the bronze doors of the Pantheon and of the Temple of Romulus (Fig. 3), which Charlemagne may have seen in his frequent visits to Rome, and which to this day are attached to the buildings for which they were made, and occupy their original positions ; but we have to mention some others that were also in existence in his time, though possibly hidden under ruins, which were subsequently rescued and re-used in the Lateran basilica. Of these the most important is the pair which form the present central doors to that church. Originally they formed the gates of the Curia, which was afterwards converted into the Church of S. Adriano *in tribis fatis;* and as several coins of the Emperor Domitian were found at the time of their removal between the inner and outer panels, they

may perhaps date from his reign. The doors were formed in two leaves, each two panels wide and seven panels high, making twenty-eight in all, which being thus somewhat small, approximated more nearly than did the doors of the Pantheon to the proportions adopted during the Middle Ages. The doors were removed from S. Adriano under the orders of Pope Alexander VII. by Borromini, who had to piece them out to fit their new position, but as he decorated his additions with the typical stars of the Chigis, they can be easily recognised.

The two bronze doors in the baptistery of the Lateran, opening respectively into the chapels of S. John the Evangelist and S. John the Baptist, are supposed to have been brought from the baths of Caracalla by Pope Hilary in the fifth century, but that to the former appears to have undergone alterations from Pope Celestine III. at the end of the twelfth century.

The first bronze doors to be made after the art of bronze-casting had died out in Rome were those for Sta. Sophia at Constantinople; and although those of the main front have disappeared, we may judge from the one that is fortunately left, that when Justinian claimed that his church rivalled the Temple of Jerusalem, he was not ashamed to compare his bronze doors to its "beautiful gate." The door now remaining stands at the south end of the great narthex and appears to be complete, except that some relief ornament seems to have disappeared from the inside of the panels. The doors are formed of wood, some four or five inches thick, covered with bronze plates cast in sections, and varying from a quarter to half an inch in thickness, enriched with the most beautiful running ornaments and frets, and having on the panels monograms and inscriptions in silver niello. On the outside of the panels were raised crosses, such as we shall presently see on the later Greek doors in southern Italy; and the leaves swing on pivots let into the head and sill of the doorway. Besides this great door there are also

in the inner atrium of Sta. Sophia sixteen smaller bronze doors, once ornamented with crosses; but they have been considerably damaged by the Turks.

There are two sets of doors in S. Mark's, Venice, of Greek workmanship and considerable but uncertain antiquity, which are supposed by some to have been removed from S. Mark's at Alexandria; one of these is in the baptistery, and has open work in the panels, and the other is at the north end of the north transept. When Constantinople was sacked by the Crusaders in 1204, the Venetians carried off, among many other things, a pair of bronze doors, which are now hung to the right of the central entrance to S. Mark's; but there is no record or anything by which we can tell from what building they were stolen.

The doors which Charlemagne set up, no doubt under the directions of Eginhard, to his minster at Aix-la-Chapelle come next in point of date, and may be assumed to belong to the end of the eighth century. Except that all the panels are the same size, they more nearly approach in their arrangements the classic model of the Curia than do any later doors or the doors of Greek origin; and though the panels are left quite plain, the mouldings round them and round the frames of the leaves are highly ornamented with classic enrichments (Fig. 4).

We have not the space to describe in detail the whole of the series of doors given in our list, as it is a branch of the subject which would require a book in itself, but will be content with a description of the best typical examples; and passing by the doors of Mainz and Petershausen, the dates of which are a little uncertain, turn next to that Saxon group which begins with the great doors of Hildesheim (Plate XXXVIII.).

In these doors we see the vast change which has taken place in art in the two hundred years which have elapsed since Charlemagne's revival; the gates of the church have ceased

PLATE XXXVIII

BRONZE DOORS, HILDESHEIM

to be merely an ornamental protection to close it in, and become "storied" valves inviting the entrance of the passer-by. Although much has been said as to the supposed classic or Byzantine influence perceptible in these doors, there is, in no particular whatever, any likeness to be found between these doors and those either of the Curia or Sta. Sophia, save that they are metal doors. The framed construction of the door has disappeared, and in place of the panels is a series of pictures in high relief, reminiscent of Lombardic decoration, if of any style at all.

The Hildesheim doors were originally made for the Church of S. Michael, which Bernward built in that city, and were only removed to the cathedral, to which they now form the western entrance, at some subsequent date. The inscription recording their fabrication may be seen engraved across the doors between the centre panels, was added after Bernward's death, and may be read thus :—

ANNO DOMINAE INCARNATIONIS MXV BERNWARDVS DIVAE MEMORIAE HAS VALVAS FVSILES IN FACIEM ANGELICI TEMPLI OB MONIMENTVM SVI FECIT SVSPENDI.

The subjects of the pictures are arranged in sixteen groups, the eight on each leaf representing scenes from the Old and New Testament respectively. They are as follows, beginning with the left-hand leaf at the top : (1) The Creation of Man ; (2) Eve being presented to Adam ; (4) Adam and Eve in hiding when they hear the voice of God ; from between the feet of Eve the serpent is seen crawling ; (5) An angel holding a sword drives Adam and Eve out of Paradise ; (6) Adam is seen tilling the ground with a hoe, and Eve has rigged up a tent between two trees under which she is nursing a baby, and between them an angel is holding a cross as a sign of their salvation ; (7) The sacrifice of Cain and Abel, and the acceptation of the proffered lamb of Abel signified by the open hand stretched out from

a cloud of radiating glory ; (8) The death of Abel, partly in two scenes. In the centre is Abel struck to the earth, and on his right hand is Cain wielding a club and about to strike, while he appears again on the left after he has struck the blow, and above is a hand issuing from a cloud.

The right valve has of its eight panels earlier ones devoted to subjects connected with the life of the Blessed Virgin, and beginning at the bottom we have : (1) The Annunciation ; (2) The Birth of Christ ; (3) The Adoration of the Magi ; (4) The Presentation in the Temple. The remaining subjects deal with the closing years in the life of Christ : (5) Christ before Herod ; (6) The Crucifixion ; (7) The three Marys at the Sepulchre ; (8) Christ triumphant holding the Cross of Victory.

The doors of Sta. Sophia at Novgorod and of the Cathedral of Gnesen are a little later in date, but possess all the characteristics of the Hildesheim doors, and were probably made at the same place. The Cathedral of Gnesen, for which these doors were made, was erected during the reign and consecrated in the presence of Otho III., the friend both of Bernward and the S. Adalbert, to whose memory the church was founded. The tragic death of this saint is narrated at length by Carlyle in his *Frederick the Great ;* and on these bronze doors are displayed all the events connected with his history, beginning with his birth and ending with the consecration of his cathedral. In one respect these doors are much richer than those of Hildesheim, in having each leaf surrounded by a broad band of twisting foliage, in which are intermixed figures of beasts and centaurs, much in the style of the Gloucester candlestick ; but they have been somewhat carelessly cast ; perhaps one was completed and sent off before the other was begun, as one leaf is larger than the other—the left one measuring 2 feet $9\frac{3}{4}$ inches by 10 feet $9\frac{1}{4}$ inches, while the right measures 2 feet 9 inches by 10 feet $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches. They have also been much damaged in

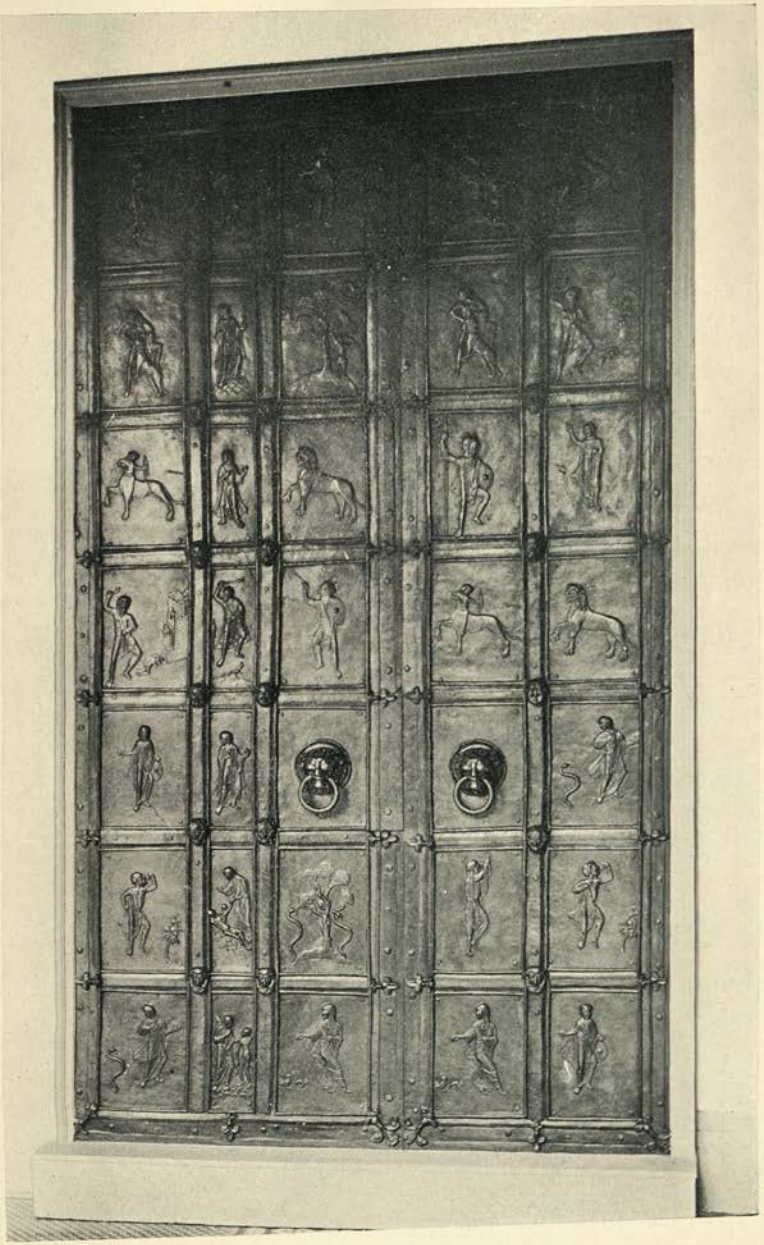


PLATE XXXIX

BRONZE DOORS, AUGSBURG

alterations, as the cathedral has been practically rebuilt more than once since they were set up, the pivots on which they turned removed, and the great lion heads of the knockers replaced unsymmetrically.

Although the Greek group of doors in southern Italy comes next in order of date, it may be as well to conclude here the account of the German doors, with a description of those of Augsburg Cathedral (Plate XXXIX.). Various dates have been suggested for these, but the one given by Kugler of 1180 is that now generally adopted. There is no doubt that the doors have at some time undergone considerable alteration, which must account for much of the irregularity, if not for the duplication, of the panels. Taking the panels in some order, though the meaning of many is obscure, they may be read thus:—The lowest small panel on the left represents the creation of Adam, and next above it the creation of Eve; to the right of this is the Tree of Knowledge, and to the left Eve eating the forbidden fruit; while in the panel below she seems to be upbraiding the Devil. The remaining panels of the three lower compartments show Adam sowing seed and Eve feeding the fowls; and in both of these cases they are properly clothed. Taking the left-hand panels and proceeding upwards, we have first Samson slaying the Philistines with the jaw-bone of an ass, next a centaur, and then Samson slaying the lion. The fourth is obscure, but the fifth shows Moses throwing his rod to the ground, when it became a serpent, and beneath it is shown Aaron's rod which budded. The next one again is obscure, but beneath it is Aaron's rod turned into a serpent and swallowing up all the other serpents. The next panel to the right shows a Jewish warrior crowned, perhaps meant for Joshua, who with outstretched arms commands the sun and moon to stand still. Above this is a lion, and the next panel shows Elijah fed by ravens. The top panel again is obscure,

and all the rest are repetitions of former ones. One noticeable feature of these doors is the small heads which occur at the intersections of the framing (Fig. 58), and we shall presently have occasion to call attention to these in reference to the doors of Verona.

FIG. 58.—HEAD ON RAIL OF DOORS, AUGSBURG

We must now turn to the remarkable group of doors presented by the family of Pantaleone of Amalfi to some churches in south Italy. There were three generations of wealthy merchants of Amalfi known by this name, Mauro di Pantaleone, the founder of the family, and his son and grandson, distinguished respectively as Pantaleone II. and III. Of these the second was the donor of the doors to Monte Cassino, Amalfi and Monte Sant' Angelo, and the third to San Salvatore a Bireta, Atrani. In their time Amalfi was at the height of its prosperity, with colonies in Byzantium, Asia Minor and Africa, and to its merchants was due the institution of the Hospitallers of S. John; and it is therefore not to be wondered at that the Pantaleone procured the doors from Constantinople, the art of bronze-casting being at that time forgotten in Italy.

Only portions now remain of the bronze doors given to Abbot Desiderius of Monte Cassino in 1066, which bore an inscription in letters of silver, giving a list of the possessions of the abbey; but the great doors which Pantaleone II. presented to the Cathedral of S. Andrew in his native city are still perfect, and they bear these two inscriptions :—

HOC OPVS ANDREAE MEMORI CONSISTIT HONORE AVCTORIS STVDIIS EFFECTVM PANTALEONIS HIS VT PRO GESTIS SVCCEDAT GRATIA CVLPIS and HOC OPVS FIERI IVSSIT PRO REDEMPTIONE ANIMAE SVAE PANTALEON FILIVS MAVRI DE PANTALEONE DE MAVRO DE MAVRONE COMITE.

The third set of gates given by this same Pantaleone to the pilgrimage church of San Michele on the top of Monte Sant' Angelo bear also this inscription : HOC OPVS COMPLETVM EST IN REGIA VRBE CONSTANTINOPOLI ADIVVANTE DNO PANTALEONE QVI IVSSIT ANNO AB INCARNATIONE DEI MILLESIMO SEPTVAGESIMO SEXTO. These particularly beautiful doors are formed into twenty-four panels decorated in niello with subjects connected with the ministry of angels, the incised lines made with a chisel being filled in with a coloured mastic of black, blue, red or green tints, or with silver for the hands and feet.

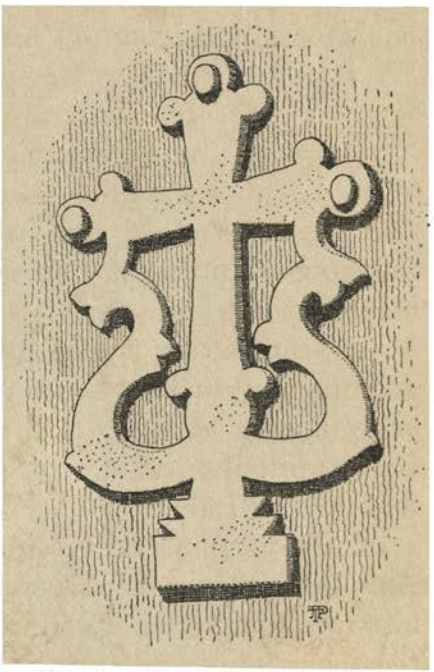


FIG. 59.—CROSS ON DOOR PANEL, ATRANI

The Church of San Salvatore a Bireta at Atrani, to which Pantaleone III. presented bronze doors in 1087, was the official church of Amalfi, and in it their doges were both elected and buried. These doors, though later in date than the other three sets of doors, are less elaborate, but they and the others were all cast by Staurachios at Constantinople ; and they have one noticeable feature in the raised crosses which decorate the panels (Fig. 59), which are similar to those on the doors of Sta. Sophia, and which we shall find repeated on later doors of Italian workmanship.

Although not included in the Pantaleone group of doors, those of the Duomo of S. Matthew, at Salerno, which are but slightly subsequent in date, may be the work of the same Greek

founder. They are decorated in a similar way with crosses and figures of the apostles in silver niello, and were presented to the church by Landolfo Butromilea and his wife Guinsah in 1099. At Suzdal, the ancient capital of Volhynia in Russia, and at Moscow, are also doors imported from Constantinople, which may be the work of the founder Staurachios; while at S. Paul's beyond the walls, Rome, there are some remains of bronze doors, ruined by the fire of the last century, with the same sort of silver niello, ascribed to a founder of Constantinople called Staurontius, but which is very probably the same Staurachios.

The earliest of the series of doors to which an Italian origin is usually attributed are the great central doors of S. Mark's, Venice, which were made by order of the procurator, Leone de Molino, in 1112. The name of their maker has not been preserved, but they show in many respects a great similarity to those of known Greek work. They are formed into twenty-four panels, the top row having raised crosses like those of Atrani and the lowest row some small ornaments, also in relief; but the rest of the panels are decorated with saints and angels in niello; while across the rail, between the third and fourth tier of panels, are eight little lions' heads with rings in their mouths, an arrangement identical with that of San Michele on Monte Sant' Angelo. It may be convenient to mention here, in connection with these doors of S. Mark's, that the outside open-work gates were cast in 1300 by an Italian named Bertuccius.

With the bronze doors of the Tomb of Bohemond at Canosa we come to surer ground, since they are signed by their founder, Ruggerio of Melfi. Whether they have undergone any alteration it is difficult to say, but the leaves do not match in design, and one is wider than the other; and while one has been cast in a single piece, the other is in four pieces. They are extremely interesting, as the right leaf bears on the panels in niello

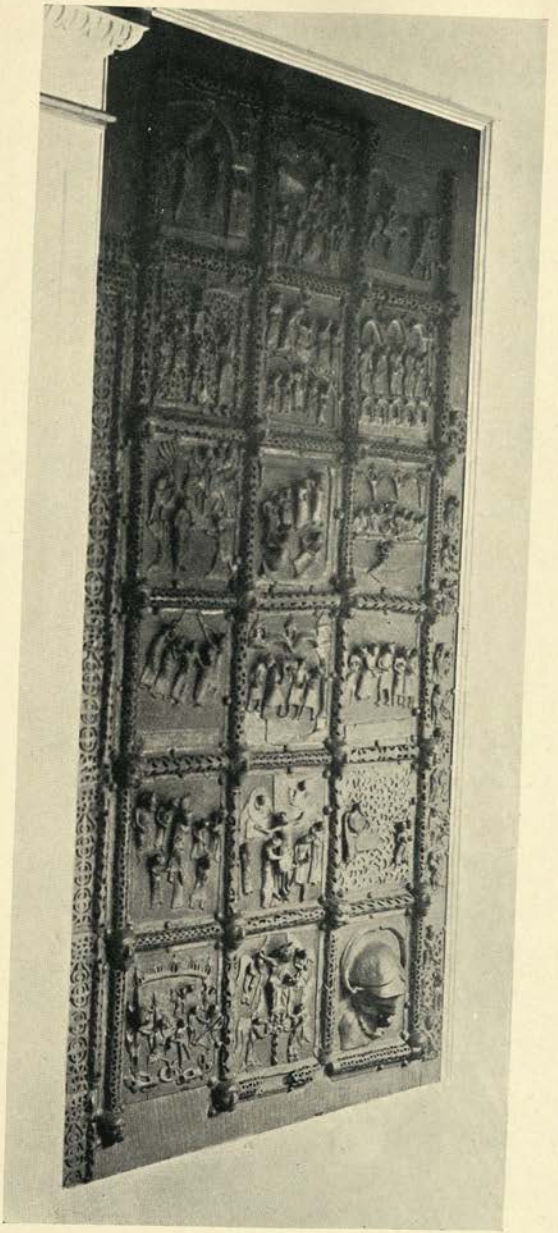


PLATE XL

BRONZE DOORS, VERONA

portraits of the sons and grandsons of Robert Guiscard, Bohemond's father. An inscription on the doors reads thus :—

GVISCARDI CONIVX ABERADA HAEC CONDITVR ARCA
SI GENITVM QVAERIS HVNC CANVSINVM HABET.

There are two pairs of doors in the Duomo of Troja and one pair in that of Benevento, which not only show no trace of Greek influence, but which have all the rugged richness of Lombardic decoration. The doors of Troja are known to be the work of Oderisius of Benevento ; those on the west front being cast in 1119, but restored and added to in 1573, and subsequently much tampered with ; and those of the south doorway were cast in 1127. The figures on the west doors include one of Oderisius himself, and are, with the numerous heads of beasts and dragons which appear on the panels, coarse and grotesque, while some of the figures are executed in red niello ; and the doors are inscribed with the names of the donor and founder, and their respective dates. It is to be remembered that Benevento was for long one of the most important of the Lombard dukedoms, and that the Duomo of S. Portinus was a typical Lombardic building, and it is therefore no wonder if its influence affected the bronze work of Oderisius.

Although the generally accepted date for the bronze doors of Benevento Duomo is as late as 1150, the design of them may be also due to Oderisius. The work, however, is less rude, and the seventy-two panels into which the doors are divided have a carefully worked egg-and-tongue enrichment all round ; and they have planted on them in relief scriptural subjects and bishops giving the benediction and holding their crosiers in their left hands. A noticeable feature is the shape of the canopies over each bishop, which are straight-sided like the so-called Saxon arch ; and the grotesque and fierce character of the four heads holding rings on the lower panels may be compared with Durham and Le Puy.

The doors of San Zeno at Verona (Plate XL.) are usually ascribed to the year 1171, but are of uncertain authorship, and even, as compared with the work at Benevento, rude in execution. Fortnum says they are not cast like German and Italian work generally, but beaten out in small panels, secured by bolts to the wood framing behind and by the raised nails which surround them. Some of the heads at the intersection are curiously like those of Augsburg, and would support the theory of the doors being of German manufacture, though they are commonly supposed to be the work of Guglielmo and Nicola da Figarola; but a legend runs to the effect that they were made on the banks of the Rhine, and presented to the church by a Duke of Cleve.

We now turn to a couple of pairs of doors of extreme beauty and refinement at Ravello and Trani, made by Barisanus of Trani, who also, later on, made the north doors of the Duomo of Monreale.

The bronze doors of S. Nicholas-the-Pilgrim at Trani were made for Sergio Muscetola in 1175, and are peculiar among bronze doors in that they have a semicircular head to fit the stonework of the Romanesque arch of the doorway in which they are placed. The panels are decorated in low relief with figures of Christ and the Apostles and scenes from Gospel history, and form, as it were, a trial piece for the nobler work which patron and artist united to produce at Ravello.

The doors of the Duomo of Ravello (Plate XLI.), which as an inscription in silver niello, of which we give a sketch of a portion (Fig. 60), occupying one of the panels, informs us, were erected in 1179 by the same Sergio Muscetola and his wife Sigelgaita, are framed up in fifty-four panels bolted to the backing, and with the joints covered by a broad band of ornament of interlacing circles also framed in panels, making eighty panels to the doors in all. The iconography is somewhat difficult to follow, although each of the saints represented has his name inscribed

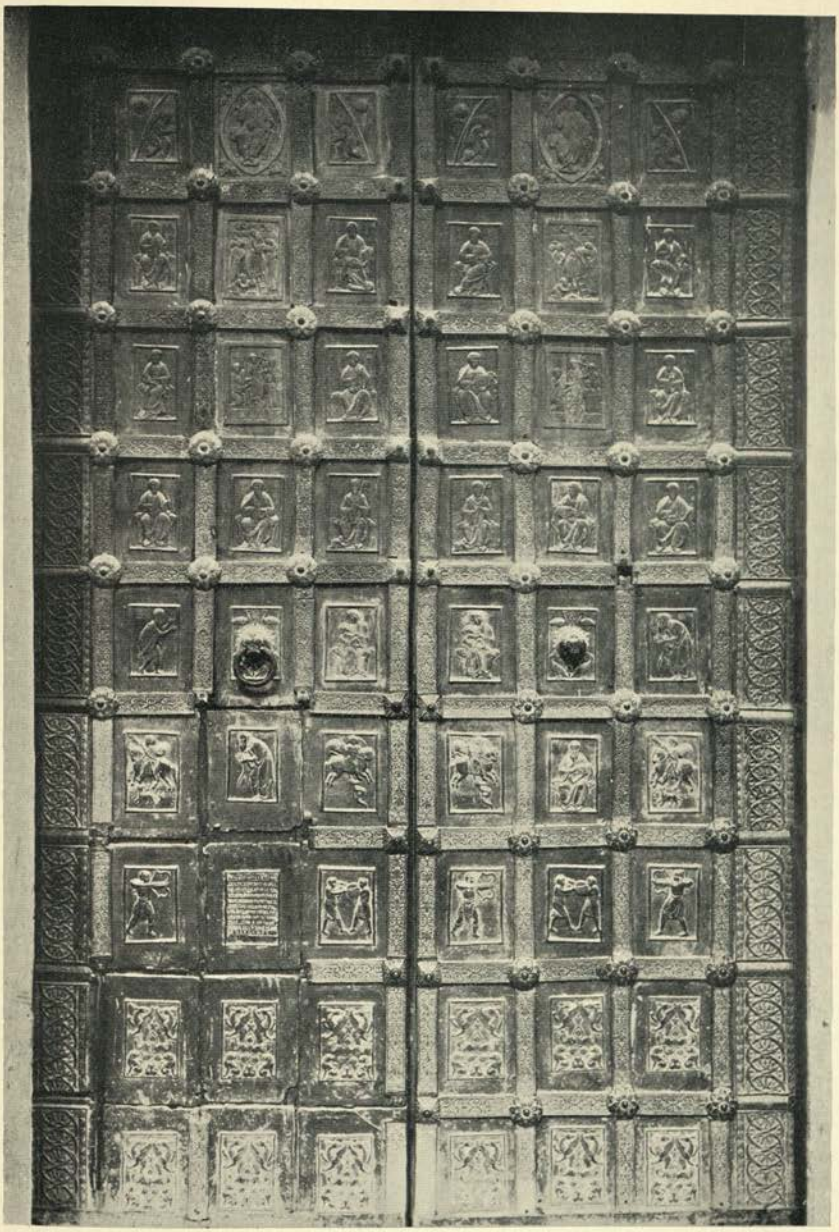


PLATE XLI

BRONZE DOORS, RAVELLO

in silver niello on the background of the panel, and most of the subjects, but not all, are repeated on each separate leaf. The centre panel on each side has at the top our Saviour enthroned within a *vesica piscis* in the act of blessing, and with the evangelistic symbols at the angles; and the panels on each side bear angels in the act of adoration. Immediately below the centre occurs the Deposition from the Cross, and below that again the Entombment, and the remaining panels of the four

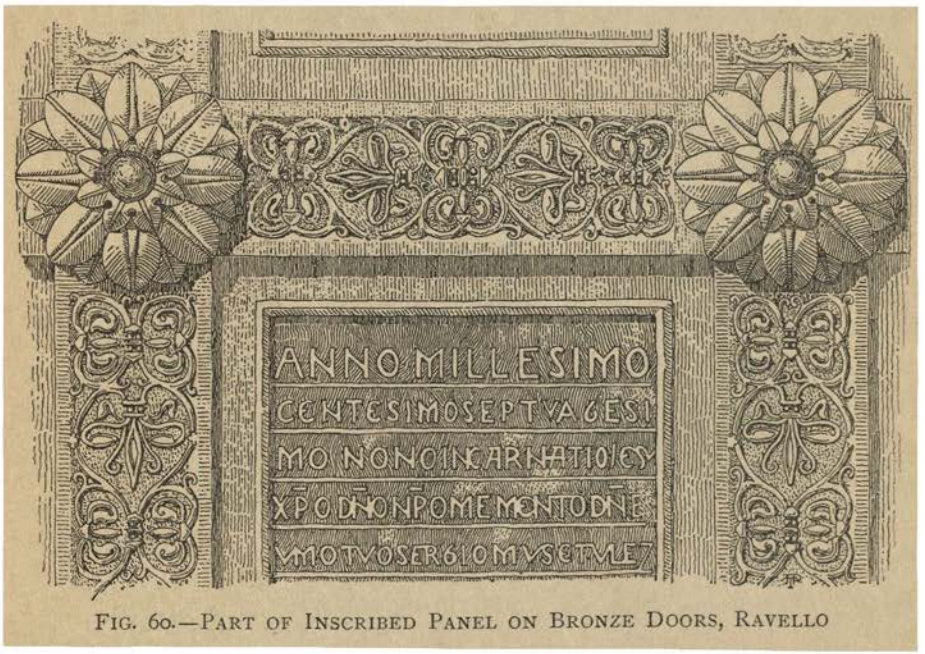


FIG. 60.—PART OF INSCRIBED PANEL ON BRONZE DOORS, RAVELLO

highest rows have seated figures of the Apostles in very classic attitudes. The central tier of panels has in the centre of each leaf a lion's head and ring, and between them the Virgin and Child repeated twice, and outside them to the left is S. John Baptist and to the right Elias. In the row below Elias and one of the Prophets occupy the centre of each leaf with S. George and the Dragon, and S. Eustace and his dog, both on horseback and both repeated twice. In the next row, which is the third

from the bottom, the inscription occurs in the centre panel of the left-hand leaf, with a group of two men fighting with sword and shield repeated twice, and a single archer repeated three times, but in one case reversed, all these men being clad in very classic attire. The two rows of panels below these are filled with very beautiful arabesques of gryphons and animals in low relief, which look as if they might have been inspired by the paintings of the neighbouring Pompeii.

The doors to the north porch of the Duomo of Monreale are undated, but are undoubtedly the work of the same Barisanus, and cannot be much later than those of Trani and Ravello, and they exactly reproduce many of their castings. The doors are smaller than those of Ravello, being only four panels wide and seven panels high. In the top row is the same panel of our Saviour enthroned repeated twice, and at the outer angles S. John Baptist and Elias; while the row below contains the Deposition, the Resurrection, the Virgin and Child, and S. Nicholas. The next row has SS. John, Matthew, Peter, and Paul; the next, which is the fourth, SS. Bartholomew, Andrew, Philip, and James; then SS. Thomas, James, Simon, and Thaddeus. The fifth row has the two lion heads with SS. George and Eustace on horseback, whilst the lowest repeats the archers, and has on two panels the arms of the Cardinal Archbishop, Giovanni di Roano, which were a later addition.

Some important sets of doors were made at the end of the twelfth century by an architect who was engaged on the Campanile of Pisa, and who was probably a Greek from Sicily, but who called himself Bonnano da Pisa. Most of the doors which he is supposed to have made for the Duomo of Pisa perished in the fire of 1596, but one, of which we give an illustration (Plate XLII.), now in the south transept, escaped destruction. The twenty-four panels into which the door is divided portray scenes from Scripture history in high relief, but lack altogether

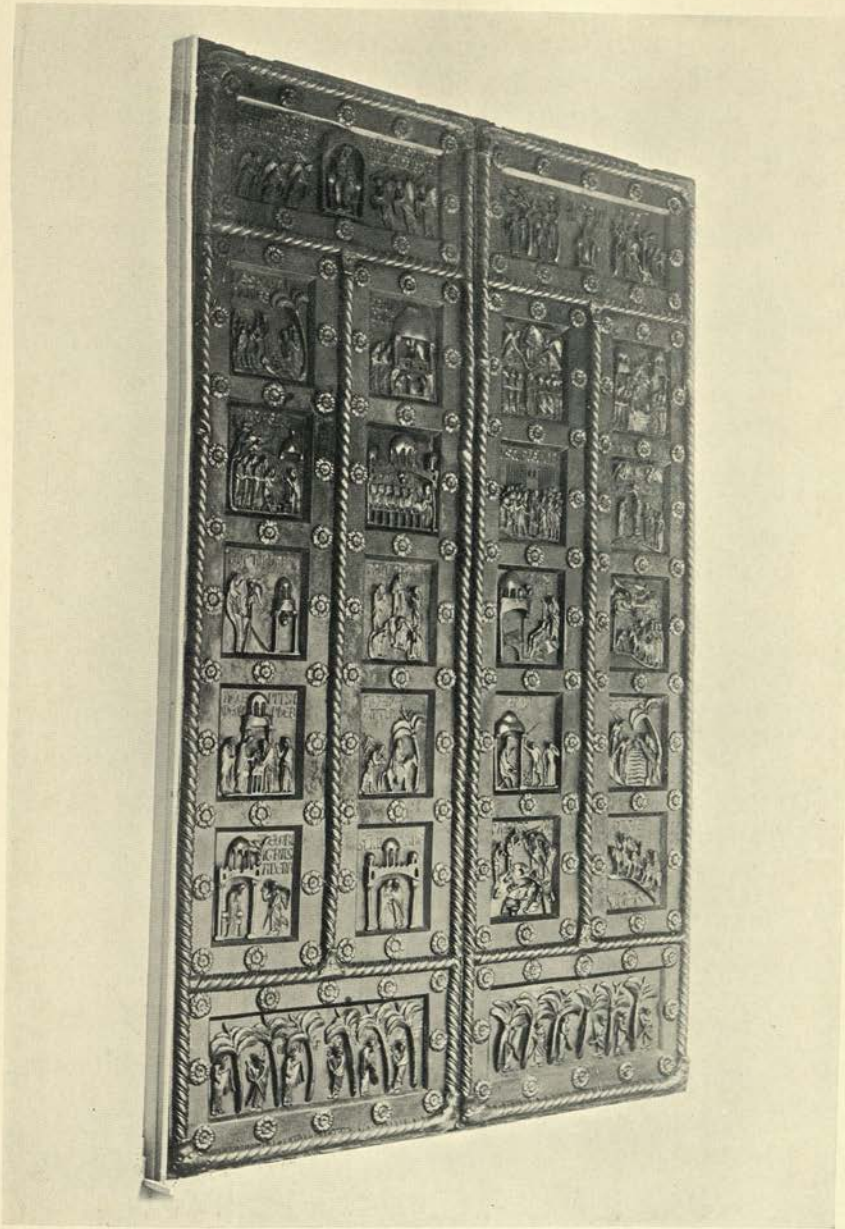


PLATE XLII

BRONZE DOORS, PISA

the grace and refinement of the doors of Barisanus. A most noticeable characteristic of the work is the orientality of the trees and architecture, from which perhaps the idea originated that if he was a Greek he was one from Sicily.

The doors which Bonnano erected to the west front of Monreale are arranged, so far as the panels are concerned, like those of Pisa, in having across the top of each leaf a single wide panel. Below this are ten pairs of small square panels, each with a scriptural subject, and below these again two larger square panels with winged lions and gryphons, which seem to be better modelled than the rest of the work. Each leaf is thus divided into twenty-three panels, or forty-six to the whole door, the subjects being arranged as follows :—In the ten tiers of small panels above the lions, and reading from left to right, we have : (1) Creation of Adam, Creation of Eve, both in Paradise, and the Fall ; (2) The Curse, Eve serving Adam, Birth of Cain and Abel, and the first Sacrifice ; (3) Death of Abel, Noah's Ark, Noah drinking wine, and Abraham with the Angels ; (4) The Sacrifice of Isaac, the Three Patriarchs, Moses and Aaron, and Balaam's Ass ; (5) The Prophets, two in each panel ; (6) Annunciation, Visitation, Nativity, and the three kings ; (7) Slaughter of the Innocents, Flight into Egypt, Purification of the Virgin, and Baptism of Christ ; (8) Temptation of Christ, Raising of Lazarus, Christ entering Jerusalem, and the Transfiguration ; (9) The Last Supper, the Betrayal, the Crucifixion, and the Condemnation ; (10) The Sepulchre, Christ and Mary in the Garden, the Disciples at Emmaus, and the Ascension. The two large panels at the heads of the leaves have the Virgin and the Saviour, each enthroned. The great likeness between many of the subjects on these doors and those of Pisa, as well as the same Oriental feeling, is very evident ; in fact, some of the panels appear to be duplicates ; indeed, Bonnano as well as Barisanus, and perhaps many other of these mediæval metal workers, carefully

preserved their models and used them as their stock-in-trade quite in the modern manner. Across the bottom of the doors runs the dated inscription thus: ANNO DEI MCLXXXVI INDICTIONE III BONNANVS CIVIS PISANVS ME FECIT.

The doors, which were made for Abbot Joel in 1191 for S. Clemente di Causauria in the Abruzzi, seem to have been designed somewhat under Greek influence, as the seventy-two panels into which they are formed are decorated in silver niello with figures, castles and interlacing ornaments, but there is no record of the name of the designer. Perhaps contemporary with these doors are those of the sacristy of S. John Lateran, Rome, stated by some authorities to have been made by artists from Perugia in the time of Pope Celestine III. (1191–1198), but by Fortnum to be the work of Albertus and Petrus "Lausenensis" in 1203.

To the fourteenth-century doors of Toledo and Cordova we have already sufficiently referred in our history of Spanish work; and we have now to deal with the doors which were made for the baptistery of Florence. The first and certainly the most beautiful of these doors was the pair made by Andrea Pisano in 1330, as the following inscription on them records:—

ANDREAS VGOLINI NINI ME FECIT A.D. MCCCXXX.

The door, of which we give an illustration (Frontispiece), is made in two leaves of fourteen panels each, each panel having a subject in high relief enclosed in a moulded quatrefoil. The four lowest panels have seated allegorical figures representing the Virtues with their names inscribed above them; while the rest of the panels are devoted to scenes from the life of S. John the Baptist. It has been a subject of inquiry whence did Pisano derive his knowledge of the art of bronze-casting, which during the previous century had fallen into desuetude; but we find that when young he was in Venice, and may have been there

PLATE XLIII

BRONZE FRIEZE TO SOUTH DOOR OF BAPTISTERY, FLORENCE

PLATE XLIV

"PORTA DEL PARADISO," FLORENCE

when Bucettus was casting the outside gates for S. Mark's, and have thus acquired a knowledge of the technicalities of casting, for we find that he later presented the French Pope Clement V. (1305–1314) with a bronze crucifix. The influence of Giotto, which is so perceptible in the design of his allegorical figures, will account for his emancipation from the Byzantine and archaic mannerisms of his predecessors in bronze-casting.

The beautiful sculptured bronze frieze (Plate XLIII.) which surrounds these doors, compounded of conventional and natural foliage, with birds and figures in the angles, was subsequently added by Lorenzo and Vittorio Ghiberti.

In 1401 it was resolved to add another bronze gate to the baptistery, and a competition was instituted among seven of the leading sculptors, which included Donatello and Jacopo della Quercia, resulting in the commission being given to Lorenzo Ghiberti, who executed the doors opposite the Duomo, now known as the "Porta del Paradiso" (Plate XLIV.). They are arranged in ten panels, showing scenes from Old Testament history treated in a very pictorial manner, and wanting altogether the sculpturesque simplicity of the earlier doors; while the borders which frame the panels, with their enriched figures and heads in roundels, have lost in their Renaissance detail altogether the mediæval feeling of Pisano's work.

The bronze doors which Antonio Filarete and Simone Ghini made in 1445 for the old basilica of S. Peter's were fortunately preserved when that was destroyed, and set up again in Maderno's new building. They are of extreme value as showing in some of the panels views of ancient buildings now destroyed, as well as contemporary events; but in their general design, and in the subjects of the reliefs to be found in the borders, they must be regarded as belonging to the Renaissance school.

The last doors on our list, the brass doors of Henry VII.'s Chapel in Westminster Abbey, though made more than fifty years

later than those to old S. Peter's, are still completely Gothic both in design and execution, but they will hardly bear comparison with much of the beautiful mediæval work we have been describing.

LIST OF EUROPEAN BRONZE DOORS

DATE	SITUATION	ORIGIN
	ROME. Pantheon, *in situ.*	Italian
	„ Temple of Romulus, *in situ.*	„
	„ B. Caracalla, now Lateran baptistery.	„
	„ „ „ „	„
	„ Curia, now Lateran, main front.	„
c. 560	CONSTANTINOPLE. Sta. Sophia, narthex.	Greek
„	„ „ atrium (16 doors).	„
(?)	VENICE. S. Mark, baptistery door.	„
„	„ „ north transept, north door.	„
c. 800	AIX-LA-CHAPELLE. Minster, west front.	German
	PETERSHAUSEN. Constanz.	„
c. 1000	MAINZ. Cathedral.	„
1015	HILDESHEIM. Cathedral (from S. Michael's).	„
11th cent.	GNESEN. Cathedral.	„
„	NOVGOROD. Sta. Sophia. Russia.	„
„	SUZDAL. Volhynia, Russia.	Greek
„	MOSCOW.	„
1066	MONTE CASSINO. Cast by Staurachios.	„
„	AMALFI. Duomo. „ „	„
1061–71	ROME. S. Paul, f.m. Cast by Staurontius.	„
1070	AUGSBURG. Dom.	German
1076	MONTE SANT' ANGELO. Cast by Staurachios.	Greek
1087	ATRANI. Cast by Staurachios.	„
1099	SALERNO. Duomo.	(?)
(?)	VENICE. S. Mark, front right-hand door.	Greek
„	„ „ „ left-hand door.	(?)
1112	„ „ central door.	Italian
1115	CANOSA. Cast by Ruggiero of Melfi.	„
1119	TROJA. Duomo, west door. By Oderisius of Benevento.	„
1127	„ „ south door. „ „	„
1150	BENEVENTO. Duomo. „ (?) „	„
1171	VERONA. San Zeno.	„
1175	TRANI. Duomo. By Barisanus of Trani.	„
1179	RAVELLO. Duomo. „ „	„
(?) 1180	MONREALE. North door. „ „	„

DATE	SITUATION	ORIGIN
1180	PISA. Duomo. By Bonnano da Pisa.	Italian
1186	MONREALE. West door. By Bonnano da Pisa.	,,
1191	S. CLEMENTE DI CAUSAURIA.	,,
(?) 1203	ROME. Lateran sacristy.	,,
1300	VENICE. S. Mark. Outside gates by Bertuccius.	,,
1330	FLORENCE. Baptistery, south door. A. Pisano.	,,
1337	TOLEDO. Cathedral.	Spanish
1377	CORDOVA.	,,
(?)	SEVILLE. "Puerta del Perdon."	,,
14th cent.	ALEXANDROVA SLABODA.	Russian
1403–37	FLORENCE. Baptistery, east door. Ghiberti.	Italian
1425–52	,, ,, north door. ,,	,,
1445	ROME. S. Peter's. Filarete.	,,
(?) 1505	LONDON. Westminster Abbey.	English

CHAPTER XXVII

SANCTUARY RINGS OR KNOCKERS

THE remarkable series of ornamental and grotesque heads of animals placed on church doors throughout the period of the Middle Ages has for long excited the interest of antiquaries as well as artists, and no perfectly satisfactory reason for their general use has been arrived at. They are not to be found on the early classic doors, nor on the doors of Sta. Sophia at Constantinople, but they appear on the earliest mediæval bronze doors at Aix-la-Chapelle, and from thence their use spread over Europe, both for doors of wood or metal, from Durham to Benevento.

The usual suggestion is that they were marks of sanctuary, and that a fugitive criminal catching hold of the ring, which was always attached to the animal's mouth, thereby immediately gained temporary rights of sanctuary and could defy his pursuers. All churches in the early Middle Ages were regarded as specially sacred places, and as such afforded some sort of protection to those who could gain access to them; but that would scarcely account for the selection of an animal's head, and often a very ugly one, as the distinguishing mark of any special sacredness. On the other hand, there is the very plausible theory that they were simply knockers, and such indeed they are generally called; but the rings were never formed with a boss for striking—those of Le Puy and Lausanne being modern additions—nor was any plate provided on the wooden doors to receive the blow. The third and perhaps most prosaic reason given for them is that they were simply closing rings to pull the church door

to ; and this might seem, after all, to be the most satisfactory explanation were it not for the fact that the heads are frequently fixed in positions where they could not be so used. The first suggestion, that they implied some special sort of sanctuary in the church to the doors of which they were affixed, gains some support from the fact that these heads were omitted on the bronze doors of the tomb of Bohemond, Canosa, and the curious circumstance, noticed by all who have visited the place, that to this day the rings in the mouths of the six lions' heads on the doors of the pilgrimage church of San Michele, on Monte Sant' Angelo, are reverently touched by the pilgrims, who afterwards kiss their hands. And although there is nothing to show how the use of these heads on doors came about, we may accept the theory that they were in some way associated with the rights of sanctuary.

FIG. 61.—SANCTUARY RING, MAINZ DOM

These heads generally take some conventionalised form of a lion's mask, and the earliest ones most nearly approximate, as a rule, to a natural appearance. The heads on the doors of Aix-la-Chapelle, surrounded with wreaths of acanthus, which suggest a Byzantine or Lombardic influence, are perhaps, however, not quite so natural as the later ones at Mainz (Fig. 61), which are finely modelled and are commonly assigned in date to the end of the tenth century. The bronze doors to which they belong were the work of Archbishop Willigis, the

friend and companion of Otho II. and Otho III., as well as of Bishop Bernward. They are generally believed to have been brought from the ruined Liebfrauenkirche, which was erected by the archbishop, and afterwards placed in the Dom ; but Lassaulx, as quoted by Professor Willis in his *Notes on German Churches*, says they belonged to the original building of the Dom, which Willigis began in 978 and consecrated in 1009.

The lions' heads of Hildesheim and Gnesen are finely conceived and project boldly from the doors ; and the heads on the doors of Lausanne Cathedral (Plate XLV.) and from Brazenhead Farm (Plate XLVI.) are evident attempts to reproduce the natural type.

The late example (Fig. 62), from the south door of S. Laurence, Nuremberg, though showing a lion's head perfectly conventionalised, is very much akin to those of Mainz made four hundred years earlier. The heads on the very ancient cedar doors of San Ambrogio at Milan seem to belong to a date subsequent to the doors themselves, and may be German work of the eleventh century ; but apart from Milan, the heads on Italian doors are generally treated differently to German examples.

On those doors which were made at Constantinople, or under Greek influence in Italy, the heads are either omitted or treated as an afterthought. On the central doors of S. Mark's, Venice, they are very small, and placed along one of the rails in a row of eight, and at Monte Sant' Angelo in a row of six ; and if Bonnano da Pisa was, after all, a Greek of Sicily, this will explain his omission of heads on his doors of Pisa and Monreale. Barisanus of Trani, however, treated these heads as ornamental features, and put his very beautifully modelled lions' heads in the centre of each leaf of his doors at Ravello (Fig. 63), and as nearly in the centre as he could of his doors at Monreale.

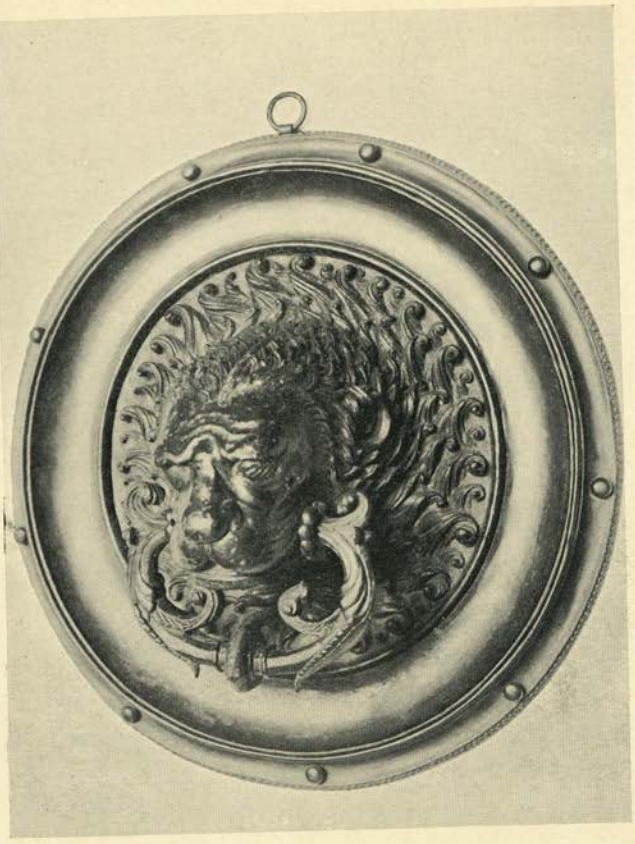


PLATE XLV

LAUSANNE CATHEDRAL

V. AND A. MUSEUM

HEADS ON DOORS

Oderisius of Benevento used the heads merely as ornamental accessories, and those which he placed on his two doors at Troja, eight on one and four on the other, are extremely grotesque almost to ugliness. The four extraordinary heads on

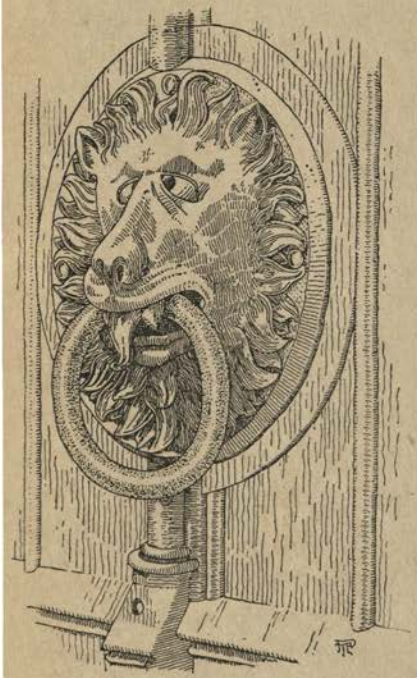


FIG. 62.—HEAD, LORENZKIRCHE NUREMBERG

FIG. 63.—HEAD ON DOORS, RAVELLO

the doors of Benevento, which may be the work of Oderisius, can only be compared to those of Durham and Le Puy ; and their similarity is the more remarkable considering their distance from each other, and the fact that they seem always to have occupied their present positions.

In point of date the "Durham Knocker" (Fig. 16) seems to be the most ancient. There is nothing in its appearance in the least reminiscent of the lions' heads of Germany; and its Scandinavian inspiration, if not workmanship, seems obvious. At the present time it is affixed to the wooden door of the north doorway of the cathedral nave, which was built by Bishop Galfrid Rufus between 1133 and 1140; but it is not improbable that the door itself, with the knocker, belonged to the earlier church. A comparison of the arrangement of the hair which surrounds the mask with the head from the Vimose find (Fig. 15) will sufficiently demonstrate its alliance with northern work; while the way in which the lines of the face are drawn to emphasise the features, when compared with the heads of Le Puy (Fig. 17) and Benevento, may be equally surprising. Prosper Merimée's comparison of the Le Puy head with the lions' masks of Trier, made by John and Nicholas of Bingen, seems wide of the mark; but its likeness to those of Benevento is obvious, and it is evident that in the Italian example some tradition of Scandinavian art still lingered in the Lombard colony of Benevento.

With a different type of face, but equally grotesque, are the heads on the doors of Augsburg (Fig. 64) and the one remaining in the Cathedral of Westerås, Sweden (Fig. 65), which may all belong to the end of the twelfth century; but of the remarkable pair which are still to be seen on the south wooden doors of S. Julian, Brioude (Fig. 20), it is difficult to speak with any degree of certainty. The two together bear an inscription which reads thus:—

✠ ILLECEBRIS ORIS CAPTOS FALLAX TRAHIT ORBIS
✠ ORIO REX ANIMIS VITA DAT SP̄S ORIS.

On the insufficient evidence of traces of enamel found about the eyes it has been argued that these heads were made at Limoges,

HEAD, FROM BRAZEN-HEAD FARM

HEAD, FROM LAKE MENI

PLATE XLVI

and a writer in *L'Art pour tous* for 1905 states that the name of their maker, one Giraldus, is inscribed on them; but we

FIG. 64.—HEAD OR KNOCKER, AUGSBURG

FIG. 65.—HEAD ON DOOR, WESTERÅS, SWEDEN

were unable when making the drawing for our illustration on the spot to find any sign of this.

CHAPTER XXVIII

BELLS

So much has been written of late years, and by so many writers, on the subject of bells and bell-founding, that, although it forms a very important branch of the history of Dinanderie, it is not necessary to dwell upon it at any great length. With their invention and the many theories regarding it we have nothing to do; while as the earliest known ones, either in Ireland or on the Continent, were fabricated in iron, they do not come within the scope of our theme. It was not until the opening of the thirteenth century that bells of any great size began to be made; but from that time forward they became extremely numerous, more particularly in the north of Europe, in France, Germany, England and the Netherlands.

As soon as the facility with which they could be made was realised, as well as the small cost of their production, every parish church became possessed of one or two, and every cathedral church at least of six; while every city or town of importance had one great bell, sometimes hung in the church tower, used exclusively for civic purposes, and belonging to the citizens. Hence the number of bells cast during the Middle Ages must have been enormous; and it may seem surprising that so few comparatively have survived from any very early period. But there were many circumstances which led to their destruction. In England, when the fashion of change-ringing came in in the seventeenth century, the whole system of bells and their hanging was altered—tone was sacrificed to number, and peals of three or five were everywhere melted

down into six or eight, the bell-founder getting the remuneration for his labour out of the spare metal.

On the Continent the destruction began at a much earlier period; for immediately after the introduction of artillery the metal of the bells was frequently taken to serve for the casting of guns. It became the rule in later mediæval warfare when a city was captured after bombardment for the bells and other available metal work to become the property of the bombardiers; and although the city itself might be ransomed, the bells had to be specially compounded for. This custom was revived by Napoleon at the siege of Dantzig, when he issued a decree carefully defining the proportion of the spoil to be allotted to the various ranks of the service. The Revolution caused the destruction of a vast number of bells in France; and although a good many of the great bourdons were spared for civil uses, most of the bells of the suppressed abbeys and desecrated churches went to the melting-pot.

The makers of church bells differed considerably from other metal workers in that they did not pursue their avocations in their own factories or in any particular locality, but travelled about with their implements from place to place wherever their services might be required. Apart from the necessary metal of which the bell was made, and which they frequently found already provided by those for whom the bell was to be made, their tools were few and easily transported, and not much more cumbersome than those required by the *chaudronniers ambutants*. Their tools consisted of the compasses and profiles, required for setting out the shape of the bells, and the stamps for the ornaments with which the bells were decorated and for the figures and letters with which they were inscribed. They generally dug the pit in which the bell was to be cast and built the furnace for melting the metal near by the church; and the name of the site where the church bells were founded

is frequently preserved in local tradition or legend, both in this country and abroad. The casting of the bells was a great event among the parishioners, who watched the process with personal interest, and, it is related of such an event at Troyes in 1475, encouraged the workmen with food and wine while the vicars of the church chanted the Te Deum.

The stamps, both for the letters and the ornaments, were made of lead or hard wood, singly, as a rule, for each letter, but sometimes as a short word, into which the wax was melted, and then fixed to the model of the bell. These stamps were at times very graceful and elaborate; the letters, especially the initials, being richly floriated or decorated with figures. The ornamental stamps included crosses, figures of saints, and other emblems suitable to bells, and they formed the most valuable part of the itinerant stock-in-trade; and particular artists, working alone or in association, can often be identified by the character of their stamps. There was one such association at King's Lynn in Norfolk in the fourteenth century, whose bells are found in Lincolnshire, Norfolk and the adjoining counties, and whose members signed themselves Thomas de Lynn, William de Lenne, and Johannes Godying de Lynn, with identical letters and ornamentation. Their inscriptions were in single capitals, each highly ornamented in the missal style, with the human figure frequently introduced. The initial letters are crowned, the inscriptions begin with a floriated cross, and between each word is a full stop sometimes formed as a fleur-de-lys; and their symbolism is so good that on a bell dedicated to S. Margaret there is a running pattern of daisies.

In the same way there is a family with the appropriate name of Brazier at Norwich, whose works are distinguished by the invariable use of black letters and a shield used as an ornament bearing a crown between three bells on an ermine ground; while the work of a founder at Bury-Saint-Edmunds is

always dedicated either to the Blessed Virgin or S. Edmund, and is marked by a shield bearing two arrows in saltire enfiled by a ducal coronet.

The great bourdons in France which the Revolution spared are to be found in the cathedrals of Amiens, Beauvais, Sens, Metz and Chartres, and one at Reims, cast in 1570, weighing

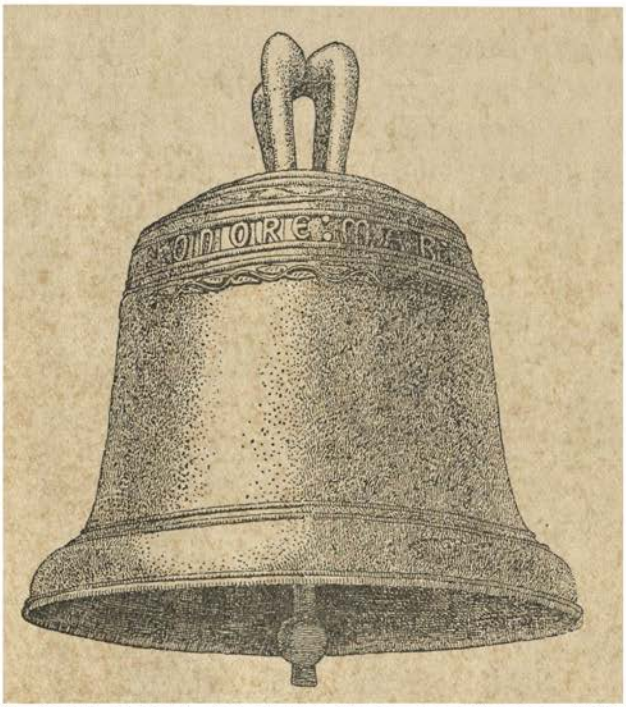


FIG. 66.—BELL, FROM S. CUTHBERT, CHESTER-LE-STREET, DURHAM

a little over a ton; but these bourdons, unlike the English bells, were not made to be swung, but to be struck by a hammer. In Germany there are several great bells of some antiquity, as that of Erfurt, cast in 1497, and weighing nearly 14 tons; Cologne, cast in 1448, of 11 tons; Breslau, in 1507, of 11 tons; and Halberstadt, in 1457, weighing nearly 8 tons; and for purposes of comparison we may mention that "Big Ben" at Westminster

weighs 14 tons. In the Netherlands are a great many interesting bells, too numerous to specify; but the two in the *flèche* of the Halles at Damme may be mentioned as having been cast by the brothers Harlebeke, and dated 1392.

Inscriptions on bells, even where the date is not given, will often enable it to be fixed approximately, as in the case of the second bell in the spire of S. Mary, Chester-le-Street, Durham, of which we give a sketch (Fig. 66). It bears the following legend: "*Dominus Johannes Lumley me fecit fieri hec campana pie datur hic in honore Marie*"; and as there was a Baron John Lumley in Durham from 1405 to 1421, somewhere between those years must be the date of the bell.

PLATE XLVII

TOMB OF COUNT HERMANN AT RÖMHILD

CHAPTER XXIX

TOMBS

We have already in our history of the art of Dinanderie in the several countries dwelt at some length on the sculpture which often plays so important a part in the sepulchral monuments; and it only remains now to describe one or two of these more in detail, and refer to some special classes not then dealt with.

The brasses to be found so abundantly in English churches, which are formed by a niello of black mastic, were no doubt of Flemish or German invention, and the brass used at first in England for their manufacture was imported in sheets from the Netherlands. Perhaps because these sheets were somewhat costly they were at first sparingly used, the figures of the effigies and the shields of arms being cut out of the brass to their exact size and shape, and so let into the stone backing; whereas in the Netherlands the whole sheet was nielloed over, and the background of the effigies engraved with diapers and other ornaments. The whole subject of brasses has, however, been so exhaustively treated in many works that further reference to it here is unnecessary.

It is quite possible that from the use of these brasses was gradually developed the modelling of the effigies in low relief, such as the examples in France which we have already referred to; and of this mode of treatment there is a remarkable series of monuments in the Chapel of the Holy Nail at Bamberg, which was the burial-place of the canons of the cathedral. These take the form of bronze tablets, each bearing a portrait of the defunct canon with his armorial bearings; and they seem

to have been all cast at Forcheim, a little fortified town near by, on the Regnitz, in which Charlemagne once resided. Peter Vischer adopted the same mode of treatment for his effigies of Count Hermann VIII. of Henneberg and his wife Elizabeth of Brandenburg, on their tomb in the Church of Römhild. This tomb, of which we give an illustration (Plate XLVII.), was made in 1508, and is altogether an interesting composition. It

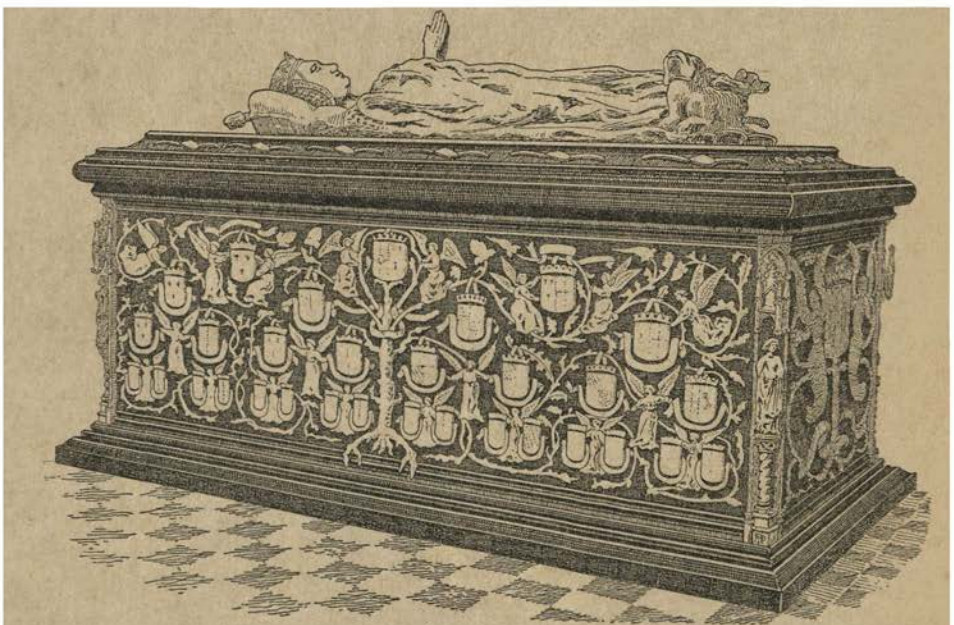


FIG. 67.—TOMB OF MARY OF BURGUNDY, BRUGES

is in the form of a great chest or coffer, resting on the backs of six lions, the sides being elaborately panelled with shields of arms in the panels, and small figures in niches between; while at the angles are the four evangelistic symbols standing on little pedestals, a curious mode of treatment which Vischer also adopted on his great tomb for Archbishop Ernst of Magdeburg. The two figures, of which that of the Count is in full armour,

lie on their sides facing each other, with the banner curling above them, the staff of which he is grasping.

In Germany it was not uncommon to place the memorial effigies in a standing position against a wall or pier; and in Bamberg, Mainz and Würtzburg Cathedrals are a number of such monuments in stone to the archbishops and bishops, and this arrangement Vischer adopted for another figure he set up

FIG. 68.—TOMB OF CHARLES THE BOLD, BRUGES

at an earlier date at Römhild, which was made in 1502 for Count Otto IV. of Henneberg (Plate XLVIII.). The knight is in full armour, and standing upright on a lion, holding his banner, the folds of which float over his head. The inscription is carried on a band round the figure, and at the sides of it are coats of arms, those on the dexter side having their charges carefully reversed so as to look towards their owner.

The tomb which Peter de Beckere set up, between 1496 and 1502, to Mary of Burgundy in the choir of Notre Dame at Bruges is one of the most graceful in the Netherlands (Fig. 67). The monument itself is of black marble, and over the sides, in place of the "weepers," which usually appeared in earlier altar tombs, is a network of gilt copper in the form of a genealogical tree, from the branches of which hang shields of arms, and among which are interspersed flying angels, who act as supporters to the shields. There are altogether on the tomb eighty-one of these shields, all enamelled in their proper tints, and bearing the arms of the family, or of subject states and cities. Around the slab are placed the arms of the counties of Flanders and Burgundy; and in gilt copper on the top reposes the effigy of the Duchess, wearing a coronet and the peculiar head-dress of the period, and her feet resting against a couple of hounds.

The corresponding tomb of Mary's father, Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, was only erected in 1558, although he had been killed at the Battle of Nancy in 1477 (Fig. 68). The architect of the tomb was Cornelius de Vrindt, generally known as Floris, and he was instructed to imitate the earlier monument to the Duchess Mary; and though the general character of his work is the same, the details lack altogether its grace, and although the shields and angels are reproduced, the foliage is omitted. The effigy of gilt copper is, however, very fine, but its conception may be entirely due to Jacques Jongelincx, the goldsmith of Antwerp, who made the castings. The Duke is represented in full armour, but wearing over it the mantle and collar of the Golden Fleece, his helmet and gauntlets being placed on either side of him, and his feet resting against a lion.

We have already spoken of the abnormal character of the monument to the Emperor Maximilian I. at Innsbruck, the most remarkable feature of which consists of the statues ranged round the church and entirely separated both in position and

FIG. 69.—GROUP, FROM THE MAXIMILIAN MONUMENT, INNSBRUCK

style from the tomb itself. The effigy and sarcophagus we have sufficiently described, but further mention must be made of the twenty-eight supporting figures. These are ranged in two lines on each side of the tomb, and divided into groups by the pillars

FIG. 70.—ARTHUR OF BRITAIN, INNSBRUCK

FIG. 71.—THEODORIC, KING OF THE OSTROGOTHS, INNSBRUCK

of the church ; and the right-hand line commences with Clovis I., King of the Franks, and closes with Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy ; while the left hand begins with the Emperor Albert II., and ends with Joanna, the mother of the Emperor Charles V. We give here a sketch (Fig. 69) of one of the right-hand groups, consisting of King Arthur of Britain, whose arms

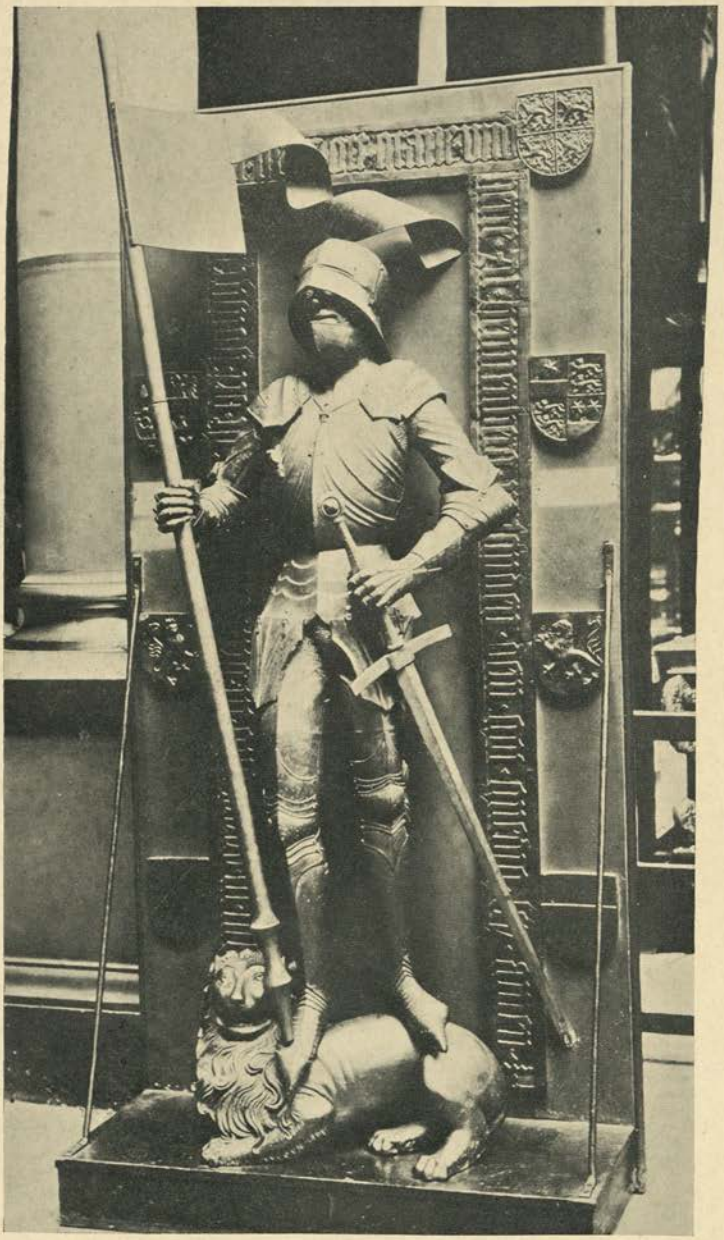


PLATE XLVIII

TOMB OF COUNT OTTO AT RÖMHILD

and armour do not accord with the period in which he flourished, Theobert, Duke of Burgundy, the Archduke Ernst of Austria, and Theodoric, King of the Ostrogoths; and other sketches (Figs. 70 and 71) showing the backs of Arthur and Theodoric, from which it will be manifest that, although the sculptors were able to produce fine statues, their archæological knowledge failed them when they tried to reproduce appropriate costume.

CHAPTER XXX

MONUMENTS

PUBLIC monuments according to modern notions were practically unknown in the Middle Ages; and the idea of setting up a statue on a pedestal out in the street had not then been conceived. At that period sculpture was always more or less allied to architecture, and when public monuments were erected apart from a building, as in the case of the Eleanor crosses in this country and the Schönebrunnen in Nuremberg, although sculpture played an important part, it was still subservient to its architectural setting.

We have two cases where animals were set up of a monumental character, in the bronze wolf which Charlemagne erected at Aix-la-Chapelle and the lion of Brunswick. In what position the former was placed, we cannot now exactly say, but it was no doubt intended as an imitation of the wolf of the Capitol and to commemorate Charlemagne's accession to the Empire of the West. The Brunswick lion seems to have been a colossal reproduction of the crest of Henry the Lion, which he set up as a personal memorial, and was in a way typical of the man who was a thorn in the side of the German emperor, and caused so much trouble to his father-in-law, our Henry II. When and by whom it was cast is uncertain, but the probabilities are that it was Saxon work of the middle of the twelfth century.

The fourteenth-century S. George and the Dragon group at Prague, which we have already described, may perhaps at one time have formed part of some architectural monument, all traces of which were destroyed when the work was restored.

But it was clearly never intended to be an equestrian statue which could be compared, either in size or importance, with such portrait statues as that of Coleone, cast at Venice in the next century, and which became more common in Renaissance times.

The famous fountain of Perugia, which may perhaps be regarded as a monument, contains some bronze work in the bas-reliefs and the topmost bason, cast by Rossi in 1277 from designs by Nicola Pisano ; and the three great bronze fountains of the Maximilianstrasse in Augsburg, although full of Renaissance detail and cast at the end of the sixteenth century, may almost be reckoned among mediæval metal work.

ENVOY

THE concluding chapters of our volume, in giving bare descriptions of so many objects of Dinanderie, may seem too much in the nature of a *catalogue raisonné*, but such details were necessary for the proper completion of our task. However technical at times portions of our work may have been, we have provided many interludes in the incidents in mediæval history which we have had to relate in connection with our theme. We have heard the strange story of the rescue of King Dagobert, the patron of the arts and the friend of S. Eloy, from the volcanic fires of Stromboli; and we have seen the dead Charlemagne sitting enthroned among his treasures and perfumes, undisturbed by the Norman spoilers thundering over his head. We have followed the life of the Greek Princess Theophano, who by example and encouragement, in association with the three Othos, founded the art schools of Germany ; and we have seen Brother Hugo in the retirement of the cloister fabricating his shrines and reliquaries, which are still a joy to all who see them, while at the same time and but a few miles away, fellow-craftsmen, capable of the same beautiful work, were forging their metal into weapons of offence, and in internecine conflict destroying each other's factories and trade. And lastly, we have watched the travelling founders, encouraged by wine and Te Deums, casting the parish bells in sight of their employers, and the *chaudronnier ambulant* at the doors of baronial mansions renewing or repairing the *batteries de cuisine*, and relating the news from foreign parts or the local gossip, much like his descendant the travelling tinker of the present day.

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INDEX

INDEX

AABORG, bronze vase (*illust.*), 31
Aachen. *See* Aix-la-Chapelle
Abbon, goldsmith, master to S. Eloy, 78
Abingdon, bells by S. Dunstan, 87
Adel church, Yorks., sanctuary ring, 88
Adrian I., Pope, his works in Rome, 4
Aerts, J., goldsmith, 76
Aix-la-Chapelle founded, 5, 12; its mineral waters, 57; survives the Norman inroads, 57; becomes seat of German Emperors, 57; its influence on Mosan towns, 68; on Hildesheim, 68; the minster modelled on S. Vitale, 5; described, 57; consecrated, 57; the atrium, 57; its bronze work copied from Rome, 5, 24; source of supply of bronze for, 7; bronze wolf, 29, 216; bronze pine-cone, 28 (*illust.*); bronze railings, 100 (*illust.*); corona, 145; eagle as vane, 37; lectern, 161; reliquaries in treasury, 117; the bronze doors described, 182; compared with ancient examples, 26; heads on them, 198, 199; an innovation, 26
Albertus "Lausenensis," 194
Alexander VII., Pope, removes bronze doors of Curia, 181
Alexandria, S. Mark, bronze doors now in Venice, 182
Alloys, their composition, 44
Alpaida, mother of Charles Martel, 12
Alpais, goldsmith, 108
Altar in bronze, Salamanca, 95; Navarre, 95
Altar candlesticks, 144; in Brit. Museum, 144; Brunswick (*illust.*), 144; Düsseldorf, 144; Hildesheim, 144; Limoges, 144; Trier, 144;
Altar crosses, *see* Crosses, Altar
Altars, portable, described, 102; great number remaining in Germany, 102; their materials, 102; of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, 102; at S. Maria im Capitol, Cologne, 105; from Hildesheim, 103; by Brother Hugo of Oignies at Namur, 104; of S. Cuthbert, 102; of Sayn, 104; belonging to Dr. Rock, 103; their cases for travelling, 102; circular-shaped, Besançon, 105; coffer-shaped, in Brit. Museum, 105
Altenberg produces electric calamine, 43
Amalfi, its importance, 186; bronze doors, 94, 186
Ambones, 156
Amiens Cathedral, bourdon, 207; bronze tombs in, 84; sculpture of altar cross, 123
Andoy clay-pits, closed to Dinantois, 19
Anketill of S. Albans, goldsmith, 90
Anne, Queen of Bohemia, tomb, 91
Ansigise, son of S. Arnolphus, 11
Aquamanilles, 176; examples described, 177; frequently imitated, 179; resemble brass work of Vizagapatam, 177; in the form of heads, 179
Aquisgranum, Roman predecessor of Aix-la-Chapelle, 12, 57
Ardenne, lectern, 160
Aristotle, his knowledge of zinc, 42
Armagh, bell of, 30
Arras, gives its name to *arazzi* and arras hangings, 8
Arrige, Duke, his work at Salerno, 4
Art revival under Charlemagne, 5; after first millennium, 7
Artificial light scarcely used in Rome, 134
Athelstan and English metal work, 86
Atrani, bronze doors, 94, 187
Attila, raids of, 3
Augsburg, bronze doors, 64, 186; heads on, 186 (*illust.*), 202; bronze fountains, 217
Austin, William, founder, 92

Backing up of repoussé work, 46
Baldwin II., Count of Flanders, 87
Bale Cathedral, "chef" of S. Eustace, 118
Bamberg Cathedral, bronze tablets, 209; Paschal candlestick (*illust.*), 142
Barisanus of Trani, 190, 192
Baterie de cuyvre, early mention of, 8
Batteur, derivation of name, 45
Batteurs de cuivre, early name for makers of Dinanderie, 44
Bavenhoi, bronze vase (*illust.*), 31
Bayonne, crosier, 149
Beauchamp, Richard, Earl of Warwick, tomb, 91
Beauvais Cathedral, bourdon, 207
Beckere, Peter de, goldsmith, 76, 212
Begga, da. of Pepin of Landen, 11
Bells, 204; number made in Middle Ages, 204; small till thirteenth century, 204; their inscriptions, 206; particularly numerous in Northern Europe, 204; their destruction on the Continent, 205; causes of destruction, 204; ancient, sacrificed to change-ringing, 205; rules in warfare concerning, 205; of Armagh, 30; Breslau, 207; Chester-le-Street, 208; Cologne, 207; Cordova, 59; Damme, 208; Erfurt, 207; Halberstadt, 207; Lerida, 95; Westminster, 207; the great bourdons of France, 207
Bell-founders, travelling, 205; of Bury S. Edmunds, 206; Harlebeke brothers, 208; of King's Lynn, 206; Johannes Godying de Lynn, 206; Thomas de Lynn, 206; William de Lenne, 206
Bell-founding described, 205; scene at Troyes, 206
Benedictine order and the crafts, 54, 87
Benetiers, *see* Holy-water Vats
Benevento, a Lombard dukedom, 189; Cathedral of S. Portinus, 189; bronze doors, 189; heads on, 198; compared to Durham, 201
Beresford-Hope collection, Paschal candlestick, 141
Bernward of Hildesheim, 60; his birth and education, 60; attached to court of Theophano, 61; goes to Rome, 61; builds S. Michael's, 62; altar cross of, 123; crosier of, 148
Bertuccius, bronze founder, 188
Besançon Cathedral, portable altar, 105
Birger, Jarl, and the mines of Falun, 42
Birmingham, lectern from Louvain at, 161
Bladelin, Sir Peter, founds Middelburg, 73; house in Bruges (*illust.*), 74
Blythburgh, lectern, 158
Bohemia sends tin to Damme, 42
Bohemond, tomb of, Canosa, 188
Bois-le-Duc, brass font, 174
Bonnano da Pisa, 192, 193
Book-covers, 164; in Hotel Cluny, 164; in Durham Cathedral library, 165; in Louvre, 164; in Victoria and Albert Museum, 165
Borromini alters bronze doors of Curia, 181
Bourdon, Amiens, 207; Beauvais, 207; Chartres, 207; Metz, 207; Reims, 207; Sens, 207
Bourges Cathedral, reliquaries, 118
Bouvigne, its rise, 18; obtains monopoly of Namur clay-pits, 19; erects Créve court castle, 19; and another castle, 20
Brass, composition of, 43; preparation of, 45
Brasses generally, 209; difference between English and foreign, 209
Brazen-head farm, head on door, 88, 200
Brazier family, bell-founders, Norwich, 206
Bremen, brass font, 166
Breslau, bell, 207; monument to Bishop Johann by Vischer, 66
Brioude, S. Julian, heads on doors, 81 (*illust.*), 82, 202
Bristol, Temple Church, chandelier, 145 (*illust.*), 146
Broker, Nicholas, coppersmith, 91
Bronze, its composition, 40; its early discovery, 40; its sacred associations, 6; use in ancient Rome, 6; weapons as *ex votos*, 7; age of, in Meuse valley, 23; in Scandinavia, 5; in North Germany, 6; manufacture of common, in time of Charlemagne, 6; not common in Italy in mediæval period, 94; work at Salisbury Cathedral, 88; at Westminster Abbey, 88; preparation of, 45; proportions of copper and tin, 45; work in Scandinavia, 30; in North

Germany under Eastern influence, 37; casting forgotten in Italy, 186
Bronze doors, list of European, 196; mortars, 101; statues at Prague, 65; at Salamanca, 95; at Wittemberg, 66
Bronze workers, native school of North Europe, 29
Bronzes, Scandinavian, 6; in bog-finds, 6; Drury Fortnum on, 7; lacustrine, of Savoy, 41
Bruges, its trade controlled by its merchants, 14; monuments in Notre Dame, 76; of Charles the Bold, 212; of Mary of Burgundy, 212
Brunehault, Queen, 4, 11
"Brunehault pavements," 11
Brunswick, altar candlestick (*illust.*), 144; The Lion, 216; S. Martin's brass font, 173; S. Ulrich's brass font, 174
Brussels, copper vane on Hotel de Ville, 73
Bucettus, 194
Buddha, his figure on a holy-water stoup, 152; canonised under the name of S. Joasaphat, 154
Burges, William, on Henry VII.'s tomb, 93
Butromilea, Landolfo, donor of doors to Salerno, 188
Byzantine influence on Lombard work, 4; but slightly affects the Mosan towns, 37

Cabrol, on the holy-water vat of Carthage, 151
Cadmia in ancient brass, 40; ancient designation for zinc, 42
Calais, portable altar of merchants of the Staple at, 102
Calamine, found near Dinant, 17; exported from Dinant, 17; described by Theophilus, 43; in the limestone of the Ardennes, 42; discovery of zinc in it, 42; found to serve for tin, 42; its treatment for brass, 45; electric, at Altenberg, 43
Cambrai, gives its name to cambric, 8
Cambric, name derived from Cambrai, 8
Candlesticks, 134; form suggested by Roman candelabrum, 136; altar, Trier (*illust.*), 32; the Gloucester, 48, 89; Hildesheim, 48, 63; Paschal, how formed, 49; Paschal, Tongres, 73; arranged as screen, Xantin, 142
Canosa, bronze doors, 188
Canterbury Cathedral, Paschal candle, 137; shrine of S. Thomas, 111; tomb of the Black Prince, 91 (*illust.*), 92
Carcassonne, S. Nazaire, crosier, 149
Carlovingian dynasty, extinction of, 59
Carthage, holy-water vat discovered at, 151
Caselli, Michele, bronze founder, 153
Casting as described by Theophilus, 47; by the wax process, 47; when requiring engraving, 48
Catacombs, artificial lights required in, 135
Celestine III., Pope, alters doors in Lateran, 181
Celtic influence on English metal work, 86; zoomorphic ornaments, 32
Celts of Gaul well acquainted with bronze working, 30
Censers, their history, 128; earliest form of, 128; usual form, 128; symbolism of, 130; as described by Theophilus, 131; as represented in Ravenna mosaics, 128; in sculpture, 131; architectural form of covers, 131; from Cyprus, 128; Louvain Cathedral, 129, 131; Saxon, in British Museum, 88, 129; Saxon, of Evesham, 88; of Glastonbury, 87; Trier, 130; in Victoria and Albert Museum (*illust.*), 130
Chair of Dagobert, 30
Champnol, Abbey of, 17
Chandeliers, 134; Temple, Bristol, 145 (*illust.*), 146; in V. and A. Museum, 146
Charlemagne, his work in S. Peter's, 5; revival of art under, 4; bronze weapons he captured, 7; founds Aix-la-Chapelle, 12; and the Meuse, 12; indebtedness to Rome for art ideas, 24; his burial, 58; his tomb, 58; canonised, 64; re-interred, 64; remains enshrined, 64; remains lost, 64; re-identified, 64; his crown altered by Conrad III., 64
Charles the Bold, tomb of, 76, 212
Charles Martel, 12

Chartres Cathedral, bourdon, 207; reliquaries, 118
Chaser, the, its use, 45, 48
Chaudronnier ambulant, the original of the "travelling tinker," 65
Chaudrons of Dinant in tariff of Damme, 41
Chefs described, 118; of S. Dagobert, 118; of S. Servais, 118
Chester-le-Street, bell (*illust.*), 207
Chièvres, lectern, 160
Chisel, the, its employment, 46
Christussäule, Hildesheim, 62 (*illust.*), 63
Ciboria, their characteristics, 106; made with feet, 107; of Alpais, 108; S. Omer, 107
Cire perdue process of casting described, 47; employed at Westminster, 91
Cistern from Augsburg, 179; in form of a horse, 179
Clairvaulx, crosier of abbots of, 148
Classic influence on metal work of Gaul, 30
Clay for crucibles, known as derle, 18
Clay-pits, *see* Derle
Clovis I. presents doors and an eagle to S. Hilary, Poitiers, 77
Clovis II., patron to S. Eloy, 78
Coblenz, the retable of, 46
Coleone, statue of, Venice, 217
Cologne, its trade controlled by its merchants, 14; bell, 207; reliquaries, 117; S. Alban, brass font, 175; S. Columba, brass font, 175; S. Cunibert, Paschal candlestick, 141; S. John Baptist, brass font, 175; S. Maria im Capitol, brass font, 175; lectern, 161; portable altar, 105; S. Peter, brass font, 175; S. Severin, altar cross, 126; lectern, 161
Composition of alloys, 44
Conrad III. uses Charlemagne's crown, 64
Constantinople, Sta. Sophia, bronze doors of narthex, 181; of atrium, 182
Continuity of art work interrupted by wars, &c., 55
Conventual artists most common in France and England, 54
Copenhagen Museum, bronze objects, 6
Copper in natural state, 40; in bronze and brass, 40; as used by North American Indians, 40; as it reached the workman, 44; required refining for gilding, 44; exported from Dinant, 17; in the Are valley, 41; from Goslar, 41; in the valley of the Isère, 41; from Norway, 41; from Scandinavia, 41; and tin the ingredients of ancient bronze, 40
Cordova, bell, 95; bronze doors, 95, 194
Coronas, 134, 144; at Aix-la-Chapelle, 64, 145; Hildesheim, 144; Reims, 145; Toul, 145
Cosmo Gentiles exports English sculpture, 90
Coudray S. Germer, shrine, 113
Coventry, Holy Trinity, lectern, 158
Craftsmen in Dinanderie, their range of work, 44
Creighton, Bishop of Dunkeld, 55, 158
Crosiers, subjects in the volutes, 147; difference between bishops' and abbots', 147; their usual form and treatment, 147; how preserved, 147; in France, usually buried with their owner, 147; the staff, 148; upper portion, 148; knop sometimes in crystal, 148; French, in the Victoria and Albert Museum, 149; of Robert d'Arbrissel, 148; of Bernward, 148; of Bayonne, 149; of S. Nazaire, Carcassonne, 149; of Clairvaulx, 148; of Luçon, 149; made by Hugo of Oignies, 149; from the Soltykoff collection, 150; of S. Columba, Sens, 149; of William of Wykeham, 150
Crosses, metal, 123; on doors of Atrani (*illust.*), 187; of doors of Sta. Sophia, 187; on doors of S. Mark, Venice, 188
Crosses, altar, in Lutheran churches, 126; sculptured at Amiens, 123; often of precious metals, 123; earlier ones without figure, 123; Bernward's, 123; in Hotel Cluny, 124; S. Eloy's, 123; of S. Walburge, Furnes, 124; of Notre Dame, Tongres, 125; in Victoria and Albert Museum, 123
Crosses, processional, generally of copper or bronze, 123; of Glastonbury, 127; of Mainz (*illust.*), 125; of Rüngsdorf, 126; Schatzkammer (*illust.*), 126
Crown of Charlemagne used by Conrad III., 64
Crucibles made from derle, 18

Crystal of Lothair, 12, 13
Custodes, *see* Pyxes
Cyprus, a pilgrimage to, 20; censer from, 128

DAGOBERT, King, patron of the arts, 4; carries off bronze doors of Poitiers, 77; his rescue from Stromboli, 79; his chair, 79; used by Napoleon, 79
Damme, its tariff, 17, 41; its decay, 74
Dantzig, Marienkirche, brass font, 175
Dender, river, 10
Deonant, name of Dinant in 870, 16
Derle, only found in Namur, 18
Desiderius, Abbot of Monte Cassino, 186
Destruction of French monuments, 83; and metal work, 82, 83
Diaper, supposed derivation from Ypres, 8
Didron, on the censer of Lille, 71
Dies for stamping metal, 4
Dinanderie, nature of the work, 8; derivation of name, 8
Dinant described, 15 (*illust.*), 15; its early mention, 16; gives its name to Dinanderie, 8; its church, 15; the bridge, 16; why it took the lead on the Meuse, 14; and Bruges, 15; and Cologne, 15; and the Hansa League, 15; and the Mosan towns, 10; exports copper ware to Cologne, 16; the excellence of its ware proverbial, 16; markets opened to it by the Hansa, 16; and the tariff of Damme, 17; exports calamine, 17; absence of copper or tin, 39; its quarrels, 17; falls out with Huy and Liége, 17; and the Bishop, 17; renewed charter, 17; cut off from *derlières*, 19; in the War of the Cow, 19; builds Mont Orgueil, 19; raids on Bouvigne, 19; rebels against Bishop, 20; fortifications dismantled, 20; enters league against Bouvigne, 20; besieged, 21; captured and destroyed, 21; craftsmen scattered, 21, 73; rebuilt, 21
Dinantis, seventh century name of Dinant, 16
Dinantois compared to the wise men of Gotham, 16; 800 drowned after capture of city, 21; settle at Brussels, 21; at Huy, 21; at Tournay, 21; at Middelburg, 21, 74
Diversarum artium schedula by Theophilus, 44
Domitian, coins of, found in bronze doors of Curia, 180
Donatello, 195
Door knockers or sanctuary rings, 198
Doors, bronze, of the Pantaleone family, 186; list of European, 196; in Italy, 94; manufacture of, suspended in Western Europe, 24; ancient ones shifted about, 180; of Aix-la-Chapelle, 58, 182; of Alexandria, 182; of Amalfi, 94, 186; of Atrani, 94, 187; of Augsburg, 64, 185; of Benevento, 189; of Canosa, 188; of Constantinople, 24, 181; of Cordova, 95, 194; of Florence, 95, 194; of Gnesen, 184; of Hildesheim, 62, 182; of Mainz, 60, 182, 199; of Monreale, 94, 192, 193; of Moscow, 188; of Monte Cassino, 94, 186; of Monte Gargarno, 94; of Monte Sant' Angelo, 187; of Novgorod, 184; of Petershausen, 182; of Pisa, 94, 192; of Poitiers, 77, 78; of Ravello, 94, 190; of Salerno, 187; of S. Clemente di Causauria, 194; of S. Denis, 81, 180; of Seville, 95; of Suzdal, 188; of Toledo, 95, 194; of Trani, 94, 190; of Troja, 94, 189; of Venice, 94, 188; of Verona, 94, 190; of Westminster, 93, 195
Doors of Rome, in Charlemagne's time, 26; of S. Paul's, f.m., 94, 188; of S. Peter's, 195; of S. Peter's belfry, 5; of the Lateran, 180; of the Lateran baptistery, 181; of the Lateran sacristy, 194; of the Pantheon, 180; of the Temple of Romulus, 180
Doors of metal, their number, 180
Dordrecht, 10
Dragon of Ghent, 35
Dragon-forms in early Dinanderie, 35
Durham Cathedral, book-covers, 165; knocker or sanctuary ring, 35, 88, 198, 202; Paschal candlestick, 137; S. Cuthbert's altar, 102; shrine of S. Cuthbert, 111
Düsseldorf, altar candlestick, 144

Dynant or Dynon, French term for a brass potter, 9

EAGLE to ambone, San Ambrogio, Milan, 161
Eagle-form of lecterns, 156
Eckard of Worms, 65
Editha, sister to Athelstan, 87
Edward the Black Prince, tomb of (*illust.*), 92
Edward III., tomb of, 91
Effigies in low relief, 209; placed vertically, 211
Effigy of Margaret of Richmond, 49
Eginhard, 182
Eilbert, Count of Florennes, 13
Eleanor crosses, 216
Eleanor, Queen, tomb of, 90
Elfthryth of Flanders, 87
Elizabeth of York, tomb of, 93
Enamel on Dinanderie, 49
Enamelled articles generally cast, 45
England, art history of, 86; exports tin to Damme, 42
English metal work, destruction of, 86; sculpture esteemed abroad, 90
Engraving on castings, 48
Envoy, 218
Erfurt, bell, 207
Ernst, Abp., tomb of, Magdeburg, 210
Essen, Paschal candlestick, 138
Evesham, censer of, 88
Evreux, S. Taurin, shrine of, 113
Ewer, bronze, in British Museum, 88, 176; from Norfolk, 177
Ewers accompanied with dishes, 176; with spouts, 177; and water vessels, 176; of jug form, 176; in form of beasts, 176. *See also* Aquamanilles
Export business of the Low Countries, 54
"Exultet," the, chanted from Paschal candlestick, 140

FALUN in Darlecarlia, copper mines of, 42
Figarola, Guglielmo da, 190
Figarola, Nicola da, 190
Filarete, Antonio, 195
Flemish towns, beginning of manufactures in, 8
Florence, baptistery, bronze doors, 95, 194; competition for, 195
Font, brass, Bois-le-Duc, 174; Bremen, 166; Brunswick, S. Martin, 173; S. Ulrich, 174; Cologne, S. Alban, 175; S. Columba, 175; S. John Baptist, 175; S. Maria im Capitol, 175; S. Peter, 175; Dantzig, Marienkirche, 175; Hal, 75; Hildesheim, 168; Holyrood, 166; Liége, 68, 69, 167; Linköping, 171; Louvain, 49, 173; Lübeck, 171; Nuremberg, Sebaldskirche, 173; Rostock, 167; Tirlemont, 167; Wittemberg, 66; Würtzburg, 65, 170; Wyck, 75
Fonts of Tournay stone exported, 55; of brass, their great number, 166; absent from France and England, 166
Fontevrault, crosier, 148
Forcheim, bronze factory, 210
Fountain, Aix-la-Chapelle, 151; Augsburg, 217; Perugia, 217; of Pope Symmachus at S. Peter's, 151
France, art history, 77; numerous specimens of metal work in museums, 81; destruction of metal work, 81
Frederick I., Emperor, grants charter to Liége and Huy, 41; at Aix-la-Chapelle presents corona, 64, 145
Frederick II., Emperor, 65; crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle, 64; starts a museum in Luceria, 65
Frederick the Wise, statue of, by Vischer, 66
French division of Dinanderie into two schools, 53
Fribourg, monstrance, 109
Fuggers, arms of, on cistern, 179
Furnes, S. Walburge, altar cross, 124

GALFRID Rufus, Bishop of Durham, 88, 202
Gaurain, Paschal candlestick, 146
Gem-cutting, art of, 13
Gemellions, 176
Geographical division of subject, 53
George von Kolozovar, sculptor, 65
German influence on English metal work, 86
Germany, its art history, 57
Gheeraeds, M., architect, 76

Ghent or Gand, gives name to *gants* or gauntlets, 8
Ghiberti, Lorenzo, 95, 195
Ghiberti, Vittorio, 195
Ghini, Simone, 195
Gilding, the process, 49; of effigies, 49; of tomb of Charles the Bold, 49
Gilt work generally of pure copper, 44
Giovanni da Bologna, Flemish goldsmith, 94
Giraldus, a name, 81, 203
Givet, 10
Glastonbury and S. Dunstan, 86; processional cross, 127
Gloucester candlestick, 48, 89; sanctuary ring, 88
Gnesen Cathedral, 63, 184; bronze doors, 184; heads on doors, 200
Godfrey, coppersmith, 91
Godfrey de Claire, of Huy, triptych by, 22
Godl, Melchior, sculptor, 67
Godl, Stephen, sculptor, 67
Gold and silver mines in the Harz, 41; at Goslar, 59
Golden candlestick, the (*illust.*), 136
Goslar, mines, 41, 59
Gospel lights, origin of, 135; rules for use of, 135
Gospel and Paschal lights, difference between, 137
Gothenburg Museum, bronze objects in, 6
Gotland, ornament (*illust.*), 32
Guilds or lay associations, 54

HAL, font, 75; lectern, 159
Halberstadt, bell, 237
Hallam, on the free towns, quoted, 13
Hand-warmers, 101
Hansa League, 53; and Dinant, 15, 42
Harlebeke, brothers, bell-founders, 208
Harz, mines of the, 17, 41
Heads, bronze, from Lake Nemi, 28; from Vold Borre (*illust.*), 34; from Vimose (*illust.*), 35; from Durham, 35; (*illust.*), 36; from Le Puy, 35; (*illust.*), 37
Heads on doors, 198; possible origin of idea, 33; classic example, 26; a mark of sanctuary, 198; not knockers, 198; absent from Greek doors, 200; or classic doors, 198; or doors at Canosa, 199; or doors by Bonnano da Pisa, 200; as treated by Oderisius of Benevento, 201; and by Barisanus of Trani, 200; at Aix-la-Chapelle, 199; (*illust.*), 27; at Augsburg, 202; at Benevento, 201; at Brazen-head farm, 200; at Brioude, 202; at Durham, 202; at Gnesen, 200; at Hildesheim, 200; at Lausanne, 198, 200; at Le Puy, 198, 202; at Mainz, 199; at Milan, 200; at Monreale, 200; at Monte Sant' Angelo, 200; at Nuremberg, 200; at Ravello, 200; at Trier, 202; at Troja, 201; at Venice, 200; at Westerås, 202
Hellin, Canon of Liége, 69
Henry de Fowler, 59
Henry III., tomb of, 90
Henry VII., tomb of, 92, 93
Heresindes, Countess of Florennes, 13
Heristal, or Herstal, 11, 12
Hermann VIII., Count, tomb of, by Vischer, 210
Hezilo, Bishop of Hildesheim, 144
Hilary, Pope, removes bronze doors from Baths of Caracalla, 181
Hildesheim, school of metal work, 64; font, 168; bronze doors, 62, 183; compared with earlier examples, 183; heads on, 200; candlesticks, 48, 144; Christussäule, 62; corona, 144; portable altar, 103
Hildesheim, S. Michael built, 62
Holland House, Kensington, bronze stoup, 152
Holyrood, the Abbots of, buy Dinanderie, 55; font, 166; lectern, 158; now at S. Albans, 55
Holy-water vats, 151; at Aix-la-Chapelle, 151; at S. Andrew Aukland, 152; at S. Mark's, Venice, 151; in Cluniac churches, 151
Honfleur, S. Léonard, lectern (*illust.*), 84, 85, 159
Houghton-le-Spring, ornament (*illust.*), 33
Hugh de S. Albans, sculptor, 90
Hugh de Walcourt. *See* Brother Hugo.
Hugo, Brother, at Oignies, 71, 87; list of his works, 72; crosier by, 149; his portable altar, 104; his portrait, 72

Hundred Years' War, the, its effect on Limoges, 56
Huy, 14, 21, 22, 41; bridge of, 11; castle of, 22; church of, 22; birthplace of mother of the Conqueror, 22

INCENSE boats, 131
Innsbruck, Maximilian monument, 66, 212
Interlacing ornaments in Scandinavian work, 32
Irish education of S. Dunstan, 86
Iron, age of, still present in the Meuse valley, 23
Italy, metal work of, 94

JACOPO della Quercia, 195
Jacquemon of Anchin, 72
Jacquemon de Nivelles, 72
Jacques de Gerines, sculptor, 73
Jean d'Outremeuse, 69
Jean III., Count of Namur, 20
Joel, Abbot of S. Clemente de Causauria, 194
Johannes des Joses de Dyonants, 73
Johannes Godying de Lynn, bell-founder, 206
Johannes of Venloo, founder, 75
John of Bingen, 65, 202
John XII., Pope, crowns Otho I., 59
Jongelincx, J., goldsmith, 76, 212
Jopille, palace at, 12
Jouarre, S. Jule, shrine of, 113
Judicael at the court of Dagobert, 79

KANTAROS in atrium of Aix-la-Chapelle, 57; of S. Cecilia, Rome, 151
King's Lynn, bell-founders of, 206
King's Lynn, S. Margaret, lectern, 158
Kloster Neuberg, antependium, 23
Knockers, or sanctuary rings, 198
Kurth, M., an authority on the Liége font, 69

LACROIX, Paul, on *chaudronniers ambulants*, 65
Lambespring, Bartholomew, goldsmith, 92
Lamps, 134; bronze, with Christian symbols, 135
Laon Cathedral, altar cross, 124; reliquaries, 118
Lausanne, heads on doors, 198, 200
Lay artists in Germany and the Netherlands, 54
Lay artists, associations of workers, 53
Lead, injurious to gilding, 44; in Assyrian bronze, 40; in Egyptian bronze, 40; in Phœnician bronze, 40
Léau, Paschal candlestick, 140
Lectern, Aix-la-Chapelle, 161; Ardenne, 160; Blythburgh, 158; Chièvres, 160; Cologne, S. Maria im Capitol, 161; S. Severin, 161; Coventry, Holy Trinity, 158; Hal, 159; Holyrood, at S. Albans, 55, 89, 158; Honfleur, S. Léonard (*illust.*), 84, 85, 159; King's Lynn, S. Margaret, 158; Louvain, 161; Norwich Cathedral, 89, 158; Norwich, S. Gregory, 158; Oundle, 158; Oxford, Merton College, 159; Poitiers, 157; Rome, S. Peter, 157; S. Gislain, 75; Salisbury, 157; Southampton, Holy Rood, 158; Southwell, 49, 89; Tirlemont (*illust.*), 160; Tongres, 73, 160; Tournay, S. Nicholas, 160; Venice, SS. Giovanni e Paolo (*illust.*), 163; S. Lazzaro, 161; S. Mark, 161; S. Stefano, 161
Lecterns, different kinds of, 156; how formed, 49; various desk forms of, 156; positions of, 156; fixed, 156; movable, 156; great number of, in Belgium, 159; late date of English, 157; absence of, in France, 159; in Germany, 161; pelican form at Tirlemont (*illust.*), 160; rare in Italy, 161
Lendenstrauch, Hans, sculptor, 67
Leonard of Görz, Count, wax effigy of, 67
Le Puy, heads on doors, 81, 198; Prosper Merimée on, 202
Lerida, bell, 95
Liége, 10; its origin, 11; a cathedral city, 14; ordnance works of, 23; its charter, 41; receives Dinantois, 23; font, 68, 167
Lights, ceremonial, 135
Lille, censer of, 70; S. Pierre, tomb of Louis de Male, 73
Limoges in time of S. Eloy, 77, 78
Limoges enamels, 55, 84; altar candlestick, 144

Limousin school, 53
Linköping Cathedral, brass font (*illust.*), 171
Lion, the, of Brunswick, 216
Lions' heads in Roman sculpture, 28
List of European bronze doors, 196
Local industries, reasons for their positions, 39
Löffler, family of, sculptors, 67
Löffler, Elias, 67
Löffler, Gregory, 67
Löffler, Hans, 67
Löffler, Peter, 67
Lombards, their buildings in Italy, 3
London, its trade controlled by its merchants, 14
Lothair I., grandson of Charlemagne, 13
Lothair II., signet of, 13
Louis de Male, weepers from tomb of, 73
Louvain Cathedral, censer (*illust.*), 129, 131; font, 49 (*illust.*), 173; lectern, 161
Lübeck merchants and mines of Falun, 42
Lübeck Marienkirche, brass font, 171
Luceria, Frederick II. collects curiosities at, 65
Luçon, crosier, 149
Ludovico del Duco, sculptor, 66
Lyons, Dinanderie at, 84
Lys, river, 10

MAESTRICHT, 11, 14; bridge of, 11; S. Servais, chef, 118; shrine, 113
Magdeburg, tomb of Abp. Ernst, 66, 210; Paschal candlestick (*illust.*), 139, 140
Mainz Cathedral, built by Willigis, 60; bronze doors, 60, 182, 199; heads on (*illust.*), 199; processional cross (*illust.*), 125
Maizeroul clay-pits, 19
Margaret of Constantinople and tariff of Damme, 41
Margaret of Richmond, effigy of, 49, 93
Martin V., Pope and portable altars, 102
Martin von Kolozovar, sculptor, 65
Mary of Burgundy, tomb of, 76, 212
Materials used in Dinanderie, 39
Maximilian I., Emp., monument, 66, 212
Merimée, Prosper, on the Le Puy head, 202
Merovingian kings, their palaces, 4
Merton College, Oxford, lectern, 159
Metz Cathedral, bourdon, 207
Meuse, river, 10; valley of the, 11
Mechildis, abbess, and the Paschal of Essen, 139
Mezières, 10
Middelburg, Flanders, founded, 73; colonised by Dinantois, 74; special privileges granted to, by Edward IV., 75; destroyed by the Brugeois, 75
Milan and the Liége font, 69; San Ambrogio, eagle to ambone, 161; heads on doors, 200; Duomo, candlestick, 94, 138
Millennium, fear of, first, 7
Molino, Leone de, 188
Monreale, bronze doors, 94, 102, 193; heads on, 200
Mons, chef of S. Dagobert, 118
Monstrance of Fribourg, 109; Nuits, 109; V. and A. Museum, 109
Monstrances, their characteristics, 106; first legalised, 108; superseded pyxes and ciboria, 106
Monte Cassino, bronze doors, 94, 186
Monte Gargarno, bronze doors, 94
Monte Sant' Angelo, bronze doors, 187; heads thereon, 188, 199, 200
Montigny-le-Roi, 10
Monuments, public, in the Middle Ages, 216
Moorish influence on Spanish metal work, 95
Mortars, bronze, 101; in V. and A. Museum, 101
Mortuary chests, Winchester Cathedral, 116
Mosan art work, earliest, 68
Mosan towns and Dinant, 10; their early freedom, 13; their quarrelsome character, 13; profit by Charlemagne's art revival, 9; their hills of brass, 40
Moscow, bronze doors, 188
Moulds, stone, for casting, 47
Mozet clay-pits, 19
Muscetola, Sergio, gives doors to Ravello, 190; and Trani, 190

NAMUR, bridge of, 11; county of, 10; receives Dinantois, 23; and Brother Hugo's works, 72; Notre Dame, portable altar, 104
Napoleon's edict as to bells in warfare, 205
Navarre, San Miguel de Excelsis, bronze altar, 95
Nemi, Lake of, bronze heads from, 28
Netherlands, the, art revival in, 8; art history, 68
Newstead Abbey, lectern at Southwell, 49
Nicholas of Bingen, 202
Nicholas Joseph, sculptor, 17
Nicholas of Verdun, 22
Nicolon de Douai, 72
Nivelles, shrine of S. Gertrude, 72
Norwich Cathedral, lectern, 89, 158; Paschal candle, 137; S. Gregory, lectern, 158; sanctuary ring, 88
Norwich and the Brazier family of bell-founders, 206
Novgorod, bronze doors, 184
Nuits, S. Martin, monstrance of, 109
Nuremberg, S. Lawrence, heads on doors, 200
Nuremberg, S. Sebald, brass font (*illust.*), 173; shrine, 115
Nuremberg, Schönebrunnen, 66, 173

ODERISIUS of Benevento, founder, 189
Odorain of Dreux, metal worker, 80
Oignies Priory, 72, 87
Oland, ornament (*illust.*), 32
Orchard, John, "latoner," 91
Ordo Romanus, the, on Paschal lights, 136
Origins of the art, 24
Ornaments on bells, 206
Otho I., Emperor, the great, 59; restores Aix-la-Chapelle, 59; marries Adelaide of Lombardy, 59; crowned in Rome, 59
Otho II. marries Theophano, 59
Otho III., 60; at Aix-la-Chapelle, 61; at Gnesen, 184; death and burial at Aix-la-Chapelle, 61
Otto IV., Count, tomb of, by Vischer, 211
Oundle, S. Peter, lectern, 158

PAIL for holy water, Eltenberg (*illust*)., 153; Toulouse (*illust.*), 154
Pantaleone family of Amalfi, 186; doors made for, 94; Mauro de, 186
Pantaleone II., 186
Pantaleone III., 186
Paris, Chapel of the Carmes-Billettes, insignia, 127
Paschal and Gospel lights, the difference between, 137
Paschal candles, their great size, 137; at Canterbury, 137; at Norwich, 137
Paschal candlestick belonging to Beresford-Hope, 141; Bamberg (*illust.*), 142; Cologne, S. Cunibert, 141; Durham, 137; Essen, 138; Gaurain, 140; Léau, 140; Magdeburg (*illust.*), 139; Milan, 94, 138; Prague, 138; S. Trond, 141; Xanten, 140
Paschal light, earliest directions for, 135; rules for lighting, 136
Patras, Lambert, 68
Paxes, 99; at Hotel Cluny, 100
Pedestal, SS. Nereo ed Achilleo, Rome (*illust.*), 137
Pepin, King of Italy, 4; of Landen, 11; of Heristal, 11; the Short, 12
Perugia, bronze doors, 15, 26; fountain, 217
Petershausen, bronze doors, 182
Petrus "Lausenensis," 194
Philip le Bon acquires Namur, 20; decides to suppress Dinant, 20
Philippa, Queen, tomb of, 91
Pine-cone, bronze, Aix-la-Chapelle (*illust.*), 28, 59; of Rome (*illust.*), 29
Pisa, bronze doors, 94, 192
Pisano, Andrea, 95, 194
Pisano, Nicola, 217
Plastic clay or derle in Namur, 19
Pliny, on ancient brass, 40
Poitiers, Dagobert carries off metal work, 77; lectern, 157; bronze doors, 77; destruction of metal work, 83
Pomme de cuivre, or hand-warmer, 100
Pontigny treasure, story of, 83
Portable altars. *See* Altars, Portable
Portable reliquaries, 122
Porta del Paradiso, Florence, 195
Prague, bronze statue, 65, 216; Paschal candlestick, 138

Processes of manufacture, 44
Processional crosses. *See* Crosses, Processional
Processional insignia of bronze, 127
Publius Cincius Calvius, maker of pine-cone, Rome, 29
Pyxes, their characteristics, 106; in form of a dove, 107; enormous number made, 106; of Sens (*illust.*), 107

RAIDS of barbarians on the Roman empire, 3
Railings rare in the Middle Ages, 99; of Aix-la-Chapelle, 58 (*illust.*), 100; at Verona, 99; in the Netherlands, 99
Rammelsberg in the Harz, copper mines, 41, 42
Ravello, bronze doors, 94, 190; heads on, 200
Ravenna, works of Theodoric at, 3; mosaics showing censers, 128
Reformation in England, destruction of metal work, 86
Regnier of Huy, 54, 68, 70, 71
Reims Cathedral, burning of, 13; bourdon, 207; corona, 145; reliquaries, 118
Rejas in Spanish churches, 99
Relics, enormous number, 117; their migration, 110; business done in, by Jews, 117
Reliquaries described, 117; diversified in character, 117; great number, 118; portable, 122; formed as heads known as "chefs," 118; at Aix-la-Chapelle, 117; Bourges, 118; Chartres, 118; Cologne, 117; Laon, 118; Reims, 118; Rouen, 118; Sens, 118; Troyes, 118
Reliquary, usual type of, 118; formed as a church (*illust.*), 119; in Victoria and Albert Museum, 118, 119; made by Brother Hugo, 72; from Sens (*illust.*), 120; of the Holy Cross, Tongres, 120
Repoussé work, the process, 45
Retable of Coblentz, 46
Rhenish school, 53
Richard II., tomb of, 91
Robert d'Abrissel's crosier, 148
Roman Empire, break up of, 3; occupation of the Meuse valley, 11; remains in Belgium attributed to Brunehault, 11; roads in Belgium, 11; road from Boulogne to Cologne, 11
Rome, preservation of ancient monuments, 3; absence of artificial light in ancient, 134; despoiled of its bronze work, 5; expulsion of Otho III. from, 61; baths of Caracalla, bronze doors, 181; bronze pine-cone (*illust.*), 29; Capitol, bronze wolf, 29; the Curia, bronze doors, 180; Lateran basilica, bronze doors of main entrance, 180; of baptistery, 181; of sacristy, 194; Pantheon, bronze doors, 24, 26, 180; S. Adriano *in tribis fatis*, 180; SS. Nereo ed Achilleo, pedestal, 136; S. Paul's, f.m., bronze doors, 94, 188; S. Peter's, restoration of, 5; bronze doors to bell-tower, 5; to basilica, 195; silver lecterns, 157; Temple of Romulus, bronze doors (*illust.*), 25, 26, 180
Römhild, bronze tombs of Vischer, 210
Roses, Wars of the, effect on art, 56
Rossi, bronze founder, 217
Rostock, brass font, 167
Rouen, reliquaries, 118
Ruggiero of Melfi, founder, 188
Rüngsdorf, processional cross, 126

S. ADALBERT and his friends, 63; his death, 184
S. Albans, shrine, 90
S. Albans, S. Stephen's, lectern, 89 (*illust.*), 159
S. Andrew Aukland, stoup, 152
S. Clementi di Causauria, bronze doors, 194
S. Cuthbert, his portable altar, 102
S. Dagobert, chef of, Mons, 118
S. Denis, destruction of royal tombs, 83; retable of Coblenz at, 46
S. Dunstan, his history, 86; compared to S. Eloy, 79; taught by Irish scholars, 86; his productions, 87; at court of Otho I., 87; at Aix-la-Chapelle, 87; establishes Benedictines in England, 87; his death, 87
S. Eloy, his history, 78; his work mainly legendary, 78; his death, 79; and the chair of Dagobert, 30; his cross, 123

S. Eustace, head of, in chef, 118
S. Fausta, shrines of, 111
S. George and Dragon, statue of, Prague, 65, 216
S. Gislain, lectern, 75
S. Jerome on Gospel lights, 135
S. Joasaphat, canonised name of Buddha, 154
S. Jule, Jouarre, shrine of, 113
S. Lambert of Liége, his murder, 12
S. Mark's, Venice, bronze doors, 94
S. Nicholas of Myra, legend of, 55
S. Omer, ciborium, 107
S. Sebald's shrine, 115
S. Servais, Maestricht, chef, 118; shrine, 113
S. Sigmund, Pusterthal, wax effigy, 67
S. Taurin, Evreaux, shrine, 113
S. Trond, Paschal candlestick, 141
S. Vitale, Ravenna, model for church at Aix-la-Chapelle, 57
S. Zozimus, Pope, his directions for Paschal lights, 135
Salamanca, San Esteban, bronze altar, 95; statue, 95
Salerno, bronze doors, 187; the works of Duke Arrige, 4
Salisbury Cathedral, bronze work, 88; lectern, 157
Sanctuary, heads on doors a sign of, 198; rings or knockers, 198
Sanctuary ring, Adel Church, 88; Brazenhead farm, 88; Durham, 88; Gloucester, 88; Norwich, S. Gregory, 88
Sarcophagus in tomb of Charlemagne, 61
Saxon, Anglo-, metal work, 86; under Scandinavian influence, 30
Saxon censers, 128; in British Museum, 128; of Evesham, 88; of Glastonbury, 87
Sayn, Abbey of, portable altar, 104
Scandinavia, excellence of bronze work in, 30
Scandinavian bronze work, examples of, 31; zoomorphic ornaments, 32; influence on English metal work, 86
Schatzkammer, processional cross (*illust.*), 126
Schelt, river, 10
Schönebrunnen, 66, 173, 216
Schonhofer, Sebald, sculptor, 66, 173
Schools, the, 53
Screens, bronze, Aix-la-Chapelle, 99
Sculpture, mediæval, always allied to architecture, 216
Sens Cathedral, bourdon, 207; pyx, 106 (*illust.*), 107; reliquaries, 118 (*illust.*), 120; S. Columbe, crosier, 149
Seraing, engineering shops of, 23
Servi of Dinant, metal worker at Lyons, 85
Seville, bronze doors, 95
Shrine of unknown provenance in Hotel Cluny, 112; Coudray S. Germer, 113; S. Albans, England, 90, 111; S. Cuthbert, Durham, 111; S. Fausta, 111; S. Geneviève, 110; S. Gertrude, Nivelles, 72; S. Jule, Jouarre, 113; S. Sebald, 115; S. Servais, 113; S. Taurin, 113; S. Thomas of Canterbury, 111; Westminster, 111
Shrines, their origin, 110; why movable, 110; custom of carrying them about in France, 110; English, destruction of, 90, 111; and in France, 111
Shrines and reliquaries, their difference, 117
Signy, Issoudun, shrines in Hotel Cluny, 111
Soldering, 47
Solignac, 78, 87
Solomon of Ely, goldsmith, 90
Solomon's brazen sea, 151
Southampton, Holy Rood, lectern, 158
Southwell Minster, lectern, 89
Spanish bronze work, rare in Middle Ages, 95
Staffordshire potteries, 39
Staurachios, bronze founder, 24, 187, 188
Staurontius, possibly Staurachios, 188
Stevyns, Thomas, coppersmith, 92
Stockholm Museum, bronze objects in, 6
Stoups. *See* Holy-water Vats
Style developed among lay associations, 54
Suger, Abbot, compared to Bernward, 80; his work mostly destroyed, 81; his building at S. Denis, 80; his bronze doors, 80; and the chair of Dagobert, 30
Suzdal, bronze doors, 188

Svastica, on Scandinavian bronzes, 30; on holy-water stoup, 153
Swansea, its industries, 39
Symmachus, Pope, 28

TABLETS, bronze, in Bamberg Cathedral, 209
Theodoric, his care of Roman monuments, 3; his tomb, 3
Theodericus, Abbot, donor of processional cross, 126
Theophano, Empress, 37, 59, 60
Theophilus, on calamine, 43; on censers, 131; his work, 44, 54
Thidericus, Abbot of Sayn, 104
Thomas de Lynn, bell-founder, 206
Tin, mines of, in Cornwall, 41; superseded by calamine, 42; from Bohemia, 42; from England, 42; from Rammelsberg, 42; prepared for use, 44
Tirlemont, S. Germain, brass font, 167; lectern (*illust.*), 160
Toledo, bronze doors, 95, 194
Tomb of Charlemagne, 58, 61, 64; Charles the Bald, 84; Charles the Bold, 49, 76, 212; Edward the Black Prince, 91 (*illust.*), 92; Bishop Edward de Fouilly, 84; Louis de Male, 73; Mary of Burgundy, 76, 212; Emperor Maximilian, 212; Theodoric, 3
Tombs generally, 209; royal, in England, 86, 90
Tongres, Notre Dame, altar crosses, 125; lectern, 73, 160; Paschal candlestick, 73; reliquary, 120
Torel, William, goldsmith, 91
Torregiano, 49, 92, 93
Toul, corona, 145
Tournay, stone fonts, 55; S. Nicholas, lectern, 160
Trade unions in Mosan towns, 14
Traditions of the craft preserved in monasteries, 54
Trajan's column imitated at Hildesheim, 62
Trajectus Mosae or Maestricht, 11
Trani, bronze doors, 94, 190
Treasure in Charlemagne's tomb, 58; removed, 64
Trèves. *See* Trier
Trier, altar candlestick (*illust.*), 32, 144; censer, 130; heads on doors, 202
Troja, bronze doors, 94, 189; heads on doors, 201
Troyes, reliquaries, 118

URBAN VI., Pope, intervenes between Dinant and Bouvigne, 20

VAN Rhode, 73
Vane in form of eagle, Aix-la-Chapelle, 37
Venice, SS. Giovanni e Paolo, lectern, 94 (*illust.*), 163; S. Lazzaro, lectern, 161; S. Mark, bronze doors, 182, 188; heads on doors, 200; lectern, 161; S. Stefano, lectern, 161; statue of Coleone, 217
Venloo, factory at, 76
Verdun, 10; treaty of, 22; one of the "Three Bishoprics," 23
Verona, San Zeno, bronze doors, 94, 190; heads on doors, 190; tombs of the Scaligers, railings, 99
Vézelay, stoups, 154
Vielle Montaigne produces calamine, 43
Viking shield, boss of (*illust.*), 33
Villedieu-les-Poels, 85, 159
Vimose, head of gryphon (*illust.*), 35
Viollet-le-Duc, on censer of Lille, 71; on S. Denis bronze doors, 80
Vischer, Hermann, 66
Vischer, Peter, 66, 115, 210, 211
Vizagapatam, brass work of, 177
Vold Borre, dragon's head, 34
Vrindt, Cornelius de, 212

WALCOURT and Brother Hugo's work, 72
Walloon towns, their rise, 8; Celtic population, 14
Walter of Colchester, sculptor, 90
War of the Cow, the, 19
Warwick, Beauchamp monument, 91
Waulsort, Abbey of, 13
Wax effigy in Church of S. Sigmund, 67
Wechrat, H., founder, 175
Westerås, heads on doors, 202
Westminster Abbey, bronze work, 88; Henry VII.'s Chapel, 92; bronze doors, 195; royal tombs, 90; "Big Ben," 207

William le Fevre, founder, 75
William de Lenne, bell-founder, 206
William of Valence, his tomb, 90
William of Wyckham, his crosier, 150
Willigis, Archbishop of Mainz, 60
Winchester Cathedral, mortuary chests, 116
Wolf, bronze, of Aix-la-Chapelle, 29, 216; of Rome, 29
Würtzburg, brass font, 65, 170
Wyck, brass font, 75

XANTEN, S. Victor, Paschal candlestick, 140 (*illust.*), 141; screen, 142

YPRES, gives its name to diaper, 8

ZINC, 40, 42
Zoomorphic decorations in Celtic and Scandinavian work, 32; in Irish MSS., 32; at Houghton-le-Spring, Durham, 33

THE END

Printed by BALLANTYNE, HANSON & Co.
Edinburgh & London

00063618

Digitized with financial assistance from
Observer Research Foundation
on 01 June, 2019